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HISTORY

OF

OUR OWN TIMES,

BY

THE AUTHOR OF

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VOL. 2.

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LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

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THE AUTHOR OF

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HISTORY

OF

OUR OWN TIMES.

CHAPTER XXII.

EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.

It is not surprising that the events occurring in France from the first outbreak of the revolution should have made a strong impression on this side of the Channel. This impression was greatly modified by age, disposition, and way of thinking. The young, the sanguine, and the ardent beheld in it the dawn of a glorious era, pregnant with the regeneration of the human race; the more experienced and the sedate were not without apprehensions that it might prove a second Pandora's box, sent to spread anarchy and all its attendant evils over the whole face of the globe. It was natural that the Whig opposition, eager to court the popular favour, should take up the former opinion, that they should represent the struggle going on in France as a contest between tyranny and oppression, and readily enlist the sympathies of great numbers in behalf of a people awakened to a sense of their wrongs, and reclaiming those liberties to which Britain owes her power and her greatness.

Soon, however, did this revolution betray a character too strongly marked to be mistaken by any but those who

wilfully shut their eyes. Emphatic warnings of its mischievous tendency were early given in parliament, even by men who had heretofore been regarded as the stanchest champions of the popular cause. So early as February, 1790, in a debate on the army supplies, Fox expressed his approbation of the new government in France. Pitt also hoped that the occurrences there might convert her into a less restless neighbour, though he confessed that the restoration of tranquillity appeared to him considerably distant. Burke, on the other hand, avowed his decided hostility to the measures pursued in France, and most emphatically declared that he should consider it as the greatest of all calamities, if any set of men among us should represent the late transactions in France as a fit object for our imitation. In this opinion many of the minister's friends warmly concurred; and when, on the 9th of February, Burke revived the subject, Pitt himself declared his almost entire agreement with him, and his sincere satisfaction on account of the sentiments respecting the British constitution professed that day by Burke, adding that the manner in which he had pledged himself to maintain it for ever inviolate entitled him to the gratitude of his fellow-citizens and of the latest posterity.

In the following month, a new effort was made to procure a repeal of the corporation and test acts. The Dissenters prevailed on Fox to introduce the motion, and the friends of the established church, alarmed by the downfall of the church of France, rallied in its support. Of these none showed more warmth than Burke. He declared that, of all abstract principles, those of natural right, on which the Dissenters grounded their claims, were the most dangerous; they superseded society, and snapped asunder all those bonds which for ages had constituted the happiness of mankind. He quoted passages from the writings of the leading Dissenters to show that they were avowed

enemies to the church of England, and adjured the house to let the fate of the church of France, so disgracefully plundered and demolished, awaken their zeal for our excellent establishment. Fox, in reply, declared himself filled with grief and shame at the sentiments which Burke had avowed on this occasion. He said that all the principles which he had stated had formerly received the sanction of his friend, whose sensibility had been shocked by a mistaken idea of the transactions in France; but these were in fact nothing more than the calamities to which every country was unavoidably subject at the period of a revolution in its government, however beneficent and salutary. The motion was negatived by a very large majority.

The parliament was dissolved in June, and the new one met in November.

The absolute indifference with which the British minister seemed to view the events that were occurring in France, the exultation with which they were hailed by the most distinguished leaders of the opposition, and no doubt the expectation that they would lead to a better system of government there, encouraged the admirers of the new principles in England. Many men, eminent for rank, talents, and understanding, extolled the French revolution to the skies, but without openly disparaging the constitution of their own country. Dr. Price, who was reverenced as an apostle by the Dissenters, approved the principles of the French revolution even in their most ruinous consequences to kings and people. Dr. Priestley, a unitarian minister, celebrated for his chemical discoveries, lent the influence of his name to the same doctrines. A society called the Friends of the Revolution, formed in London, had a peer of the realm, earl Stanhope, for its president. This society transmitted an address of congratulation to the National Assembly, which had almost

the air of a summons to the people of all nations to unite against kings, the aristocracy, and the church. Fox, Sheridan, and nearly their whole party, which was never so formidable for number and talents as at this time, spoke with unqualified admiration of the revolution, and were in correspondence with its authors and leaders. Burke, however, though he had all his life exerted his splendid abilities in the cause of liberty with the warmth natural to his character, so far from participating in the opinions of the opposition on this subject, laboured with zeal and success to check their propagation in England. Perhaps no work of modern times had a more powerful influence upon public opinion than his Reflexions on the French Revolution, published towards the end of 1790. In none is the theory of liberty more luminously expounded, or the limit between liberty and licentiousness more accurately defined. His prophetic forebodings, with very few exceptions, were fulfilled in the course of the next fifteen years with astonishing precision, and especially his denunciations of tyranny, to which he was a mortal enemy, under whatever shape it appeared. This work, in short, operated as a dyke against the deluge of revolutionary principles, which at the time of its publication threatened to inundate England.

In the details of the war between Russia and Turkey, we have seen that the empress had by conquest wrested a considerable tract of country from the Porte. The latter was desirous of peace, and Great Britain and Prussia undertook the office of mediators. They insisted that Catherine should resign the whole of her recent conquests: but, though willing to give up all the rest, she was determined at all hazards to retain the town of Oczakow and the country between the Dniester and the Bog, alleging that, from its situation on the Dnieper, the possession of it would enable her enemy to cut off the communication

of Cherson and the interior of the empire with the Black Sea, and to annoy the commerce of her new possessions in the Crimea. Her real object, however, was no doubt to facilitate future hostile operations, because Oczakow was always considered as a principal key to the Turkish provinces.

The successor of the great Frederick had early shown a prudent and just jealousy of the ambitious Catherine, and endeavoured to counteract her views of aggrandizement. Under his protection, Poland had taken steps to re-assert her independence: she had dared to require the evacuation of her territories by the Russian armies, and he had approved the new constitution given to his people by Stanislaus. To these measures Great Britain had lent her countenance. She had also, in concert with Prussia and Holland, offered to mediate a peace in the east of Europe soon after the fall of Oczakow. She interposed to keep Denmark from assisting Russia against Sweden, with the avowed determination of maintaining the balance of power in the North. In the following summer, she made a new treaty with Prussia, a treaty of strict and perpetual union, to protect not only the interests of the two contracting powers, but the tranquillity of Europe and the public security. The meaning of these terms was clear from the time when that treaty was negociated, and it had passed without either censure or comment.

A second time the mediation of England was pressed on Russia; but Catherine not only persisted in declining our interference, she also refused to renew her commercial treaty with us, though at the same time she made one with France and another with Spain, and entered, moreover, with those two kingdoms and Austria into a quadruple alliance, evidently pointed against Great Britain. To Poland she had given notice so early as 1789 that she should consider the new arrangements of the republic as

a violation of her treaty and guarantee; and thus laid in her claim to a ground of future hostility against that unfortunate country.

Pitt now conceived that the dignity and interest of Britain required hostile demonstrations, and early in 1791 it was resolved that a fleet should be equipped to act against Russia. Accordingly, on the 28th of March, a message from the king informed the parliament that, having failed to bring about a pacification between Russia and the Porte, his majesty had judged it requisite, for the purpose of adding weight to his representations, to make some farther augmentation to his naval force. An address to his majesty was voted after the usual form; but ministers thought it their duty to preserve absolute silence during the discussions which ensued: and Fox and his party rallied in such force, and condemned the proposed armament with such vehemence, and on such plausible grounds, that the minister, though supported by majorities of 93, 89, and 92, yet deemed it advisable to proceed no further. On this occasion, the duke of Leeds resigned the seals as secretary of state for the foreign department. The administration of Mr. Pitt had never encountered so rude a shock as from this discussion. Had he been at liberty to divulge all that he knew of the danger impending over the North, which subsequent events unfolded to the world, his conduct might have been viewed in a very different light, judging at least from the language of his most violent opponents, who, when it was too late, would have urged an actual war in defence of Poland. Perceiving, however, that the sense of the parliament and people was intelligibly declared against him, he relinquished the proposed measure, and from that moment Britain lost her weight in the northern balance of power. The consequences of this desertion soon appeared. Prussia was under the necessity of joining Russia and Austria

in their schemes of aggrandisement at the expense of the weaker powers, that she might strengthen herself by a share of the spoil.

In the debates which took place on the projected armament, Fox and Sheridan went out of their way to pronounce flaming panegyrics on the French revolution. Burke rose in much visible emotion to reply to the former, with whom he was still on the most intimate terms; but the friends of both, who had long dreaded an open rupture between them, raised the cry of "question," and Burke unwillingly gave way.

A bill brought into the House by the minister for regulating the government of Canada, the object of which was to confer on the French who had remained in that country some of the benefits of British liberty, soon afforded the desired opportunity for explanation. In a discussion relative to a constitution for a people living in America, and originally colonists from France, it was natural enough to look to the form of government both of the States in whose neighbourhood they were placed, and of the nation from which they were descended. Against the arrangements proposed by the minister Fox raised many objections, and finished with declaring that France had erected "a government from which neither insult nor injury could be dreaded by her neighbours," a government "which aimed at making those who were subject to it happy," a government "which he considered as the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty that had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country." With these encomiums he mingled many sarcasms on Burke and his publication. The latter, unwilling to rend asunder with violence the ties of ancient friendship, did not immediately take up the gauntlet; but, on the next reading of the Quebec bill, as it was called, he rose to deliver his sentiments.

In legislating for the Canadians, he said, the question was, on what basis the new government should be formed; whether it should be framed according to the old light of the English constitution, or by the glare of the new lanterns of the clubs of Paris and London. "Are we," he proceeded, "to give them the French constitution — a constitution founded on principles diametrically opposite to ours—that could not assimilate with it in a single point —as different as the most opposite extremes in nature— a constitution founded on what are called the rights of man? But let this constitution be examined by its practical effects in the French West India colonies. These, notwithstanding three disastrous wars, were most happy and flourishing till they heard of the rights of man. As soon as this system arrived among them, Pandora's box, replete with every mortal evil, seemed to fly open, hell itself to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the earth. Blacks rose against whites, whites against blacks, and each against the other, in murderous hostility: subordination was destroyed; the bonds of society were torn asunder; all was trouble, discord, and blood, from the moment that this doctrine was promulgated among them; and I verily believe that, wherever the rights of man have been preached, such ever have been and ever will be the consequences."

Burke was proceeding to point out the deplorable condition of France itself, when he was called to order by his old friends around him on the opposition benches. A long and extraordinary altercation ensued; and whenever Burke attempted to explain why he thought himself in order, those with whom he had hitherto acted seemed to wish by their interruptions totally to silence him. Fox called that day a day of privilege, when any gentleman might select his mark, and with Mr. Burke abuse the government of any other country as much and as grossly as

he pleased — the constitution of Zoroaster, Bramah, or Confucius, according to his fancy. He concluded by saying that his friend was not out of order. Burke considered this as irony, and replied that allusions to the French revolution were not more irrelevant to the business before the House than to the Russian armament, or a question of finance. At length lord Sheffield moved that dissertations on the French constitution were not regular or orderly on the question that the clauses of the Quebec bill be read a second time. This motion was seconded by Fox, in a speech which, though on a point of order, professed the melancholy task of refuting what he called charges brought wantonly and unprovoked against him. At the same time, he declared that if, after five and twenty years, he was to lose the friendship of the man who had first taught him to feel, it would hurt him to the end of his life. Still he adhered to his original sentiments in regard to the French revolution: he repeated that he thought it upon the whole one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind, and he would never retract one syllable that he had said upon it.

Burke, in his reply, confessed that, for various reasons, he wished to introduce the subject of the French constitution. He felt desirous to point out the dangers of perpetually extolling that preposterous edifice upon all occasions, and in the highest strain. But what principally determined him was the danger that threatened our own government from practices which were notorious to all the world. Were there not clubs in every quarter, which met and voted resolutions of an alarming tendency?—[In the speech in which he was interrupted he had mentioned the Unitarians, the Revolution Society, the Constitutional Society, and the Club of the 14th of July.] Did they not correspond not only with each other in every part of the kingdom, but with foreign countries? Did they not preach

in their pulpits doctrines which were dangerous, and celebrate at their anniversary meetings proceedings incompatible with the spirit of the British constitution? Did they not every where circulate at a great expense the most infamous libels on that constitution? At present, he said, he apprehended no immediate danger. The king was in full power, possessed of all his functions, and the common people seemed to be united with the gentry in a column of prudence. There was, nevertheless, sufficient cause for jealousy and circumspection. In France there were 300,000 men in arms, who at a favourable moment might be happy to lend assistance: besides, a time of scarcity and tumult might come, when the greatest danger might be dreaded from a class of people, whom we might now term low intriguers and contemptible clubbists. He then adverted, but not without another call to order, to the unkindness with which Fox had treated him. No difference of opinion, he said, had hitherto for a moment interrupted their friendship. It certainly was indiscreet at his time of life to provoke enemies, or to give his friends occasion to desert him; yet, if his firm and steady adherence to the British constitution placed him in such a dilemma, he would risk all, and, as public duty and public prudence taught him, with his last breath exclaim, "Fly from the French constitution!"

"There is no loss of friends," whispered Fox. "Yes," replied Burke, "there is a loss of friends. I know the price of my conduct; I have done my duty at the price of him I love: our friendship is at an end. With my last breath," he continued, "I will earnestly entreat the two right honourable gentlemen who are the great rivals in this house, whether they hereafter move in the political hemisphere as flaming meteors, or walk together like brethren hand in hand, to preserve and cherish the British constitution, to guard it against innovation, and to protect it from the pestilential breath of French philosophy."

Fox rose to reply; tears for some time impeded his utterance, and they continued to roll down his cheeks after he had commenced a speech, in which the professions of excessive and apparently sincere affection were completely neutralized by the sarcastic severity of the insinuations with which it abounded. Thus ended a friendship of a quarter of a century between two men whose splendid abilities may be differently appreciated according to the bias of passion, prejudice, or party. Of the immeasurably superior political sagacity of Burke there can be no doubt: and Fox lived long enough to perceive the utter fallacy of his own notions, and to witness the fulfilment of almost all the prophetic anticipations of his illustrious master.

The humane persons who had associated for the purpose of effecting the abolition of the slave-trade were prosecuting with unabated zeal their efforts to accomplish that object. During this session of Parliament, Wilberforce, their representative in the House of Commons, again called its attention to the subject; but his motion for leave to bring in a bill for prohibiting the importation of slaves into the British colonies, though supported by the minister as well as by Fox, was negatived through the influence of the mercantile interest. This question, however, had now become one of such general concern, that great numbers of benevolent individuals desisted from the use of sugar, lest they should contribute, however remotely, to those cruelties which were said to attend its cultivation. An association was therefore formed for the purpose of raising that and the other West India productions by means of free labourers, and at the same time for promoting the gradual civilization of Africa; and in pursuance of this plan, an act was obtained in May, 1791, for the establishment of a company at Sierra Leone, on the west coast of the central regions of that continent.

The apprehensions of the contagion of French principles, so emphatically expressed by Burke, were any thing but visionary; for such were the zeal and activity of the leaders of the French revolution, and such the extent and boldness of their plans, that there was no part of Europe in which they had not, at this period of their revolution, agents for the dissemination of their principles. The British dominions offered, in the personal freedom there enjoyed, a fair field for the industry of these democratic missionaries, who found zealous partisans ready to co-operate with them. Various political societies, as well as individuals, also made it their business to propagate their principles, and to recommend their example. The nobility had not been long proscribed, and the church plundered in France, neither had the king been many days led captive to Paris, when letters of congratulation were sent by several of these societies, and a regular official correspondence was opened between them and the leaders in France. In the discussions in these societies, the means by which the revolution was effected were held out as being sanctified by the end; the example of France was recommended as a glorious pattern for the imitation of mankind; and sanguine expectations were expressed that it was but the first though an essential step to the general emancipation of Europe. At the same time, the press teemed with the most daring libels upon the constitution of this country, which were distributed gratuitously, and circulated with the greatest industry, not only among the lowest class of the community, but also in the army and navy. In these publications, the people were exhorted to form clubs and societies after the example of the French, and many were actually formed in the most populous towns of the kingdom, and professed to be affiliated to the democratic clubs in France.

From the period of the rupture between Fox and

Burke, the admirers of the French revolution in England conceived that they had gained a triumph by the expulsion, as they termed it, of the latter from the party of opposition. The members of the Revolution Society entered into a more avowed correspondence with the Jacobin clubs in France, assumed a less reserved style, and gave some express intimations of their principles and views. Nay, it was afterwards discovered that the advice of this society, which met at the London Tavern, guided in some degree the counsels of the mother club at Paris, and through that channel even influenced the measures of the National Assembly itself.

Some of the principal members, and a large proportion of the general mass of this society, were Dissenters. Dr. Price, who was a very conspicuous member, died early in 1791. It included also Drs. Kippis, Rees, and Towers, men whose literary abilities and moral characters, in proportion as they added weight to the association, only gave it so much the more power of doing mischief; besides many other gentlemen of the same religious principles, equally respectable, but less known to the world. The Constitutional Society, which trod in the same steps, was composed in a great measure of the same individuals and other persons of a similar class. About this period, a third society, the Unitarian, came under the observation of the public: formed wholly of Dissenters, its object might have been supposed to be solely of a religious tendency, though it was really devoted to a direct political purpose. At the commencement of 1791, at a meeting of this society, at which Dr. Priestley presided, Dr. Kippis pronounced a warm panegyric on the French revolution, as "an event calculated to ameliorate the condition of man all over the earth," and, on his proposal, it was resolved to commemorate the anniversary of it on the 14th of July.

Dr. Priestley, who resided at Birmingham, had rendered himself very unpopular there by his political tenets, and this feeling was aggravated by various publications from his pen which had appeared during his absence in London, and in which he exulted in the events of the French revolution, declared this country to be approaching towards a similar great crisis, and pronounced that crisis to be a consummation devoutly to be wished. Local circumstances had also produced a party animosity between the dissenting and church interests in Birmingham, where the Dissenters had for some years possessed the civil power by combining together and keeping to themselves the nomination of all the public officers.

Before the time for the intended celebration, a handbill of a most inflammatory nature,* exciting the people of England to imitate the recent transactions in France, was

* A copy of that handbill is subjoined, to show how far the Jacobins of England had already profited by the precepts and example of the Jacobins of France.

"My countrymen. — The second year of Gallic liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished that every enemy to civil and religious despotism would give their sanction to the majestic common cause by a public celebration of the anniversary.

"Remember that, on the 14th of July, the Bastille, that high altar and castle of despotism, fell! Remember the enthusiasm peculiar to the cause of Liberty with which it was attacked! Remember that generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of insulted rights, to spare the lives of oppressors! Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations, and let your numbers be collected and sent as a free-will offering to the National Assembly! But is it possible to forget your own parliament is venal; your minister hypocritical; your clergy legal oppressors; the crown of a certain great personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it—too weighty for the people that gave it; your taxes partial and oppressive; your representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of property, religion, and freedom?—But on the 14th of this month prove to the sycophants of the day that you reverence the olive-branch; that you will sacrifice to public tranquillity, till the majority shall exclaim, *The* PEACE *of Slavery is worse than the* WAR *of Freedom!*"—Of that day let tyrants beware!"

circulated in the town. The magistrates offered, but in vain, a reward of one hundred guineas for the discovery of the author, printer, or publisher; the general suspicion pointed to a dissenting minister and schoolmaster, who absconded without any ostensible motive: and the ferment prevailing among the populace was increased by this incident. The friends of the celebration at first agreed to relinquish the plan: but, the original design being revived, they determined to meet in defiance of all clamour.

The 14th of July arrived. Crowds of people surrounded the hotel where the dinner was to take place. The company assembled, to the number of eighty, amidst hisses and groans from the mob, and shouts of "Church and King." Dr. Priestley himself had prudently abstained from joining the party, which separated very early. The mob broke the windows of the hotel, then proceeded to Dr. Priestley's meeting-house, which they burned, and destroyed the old meeting. The doctor's house at Fairhill was next consumed, together with his valuable library, philosophical apparatus, and manuscripts. During the four succeeding days, the rioters destroyed some other meeting-houses and the dwellings of several eminent Dissenters in the town and its environs. The civil power was wholly incapable of checking these proceedings, and it was not till the night of Sunday, the fourth day, that parties of light dragoons arrived, and soon restored tranquillity. Twelve of the rioters were tried at Warwick: four were condemned, and two of these executed. At Worcester five were tried, but one only convicted and hanged.

Priestley, who in a letter to Condorcet scrupled not to attribute his ruin to the clergy and the king's friends, on account of his defending the glorious revolution of France, emigrated soon afterwards to America, where he resided till his death.

In the spring of 1792, a society called The Friends of the People was established in London, for the avowed purpose of obtaining a reform in the representation. Grey, Whitbread, Sheridan, Lambton, Erskine, and other active members of the opposition, appeared at the head of this society. Strictly as its founders might wish to adhere to the ostensible object of this association, other members no doubt harboured further and less innocent designs. In the original list were to be found at least one fourth of the corresponding committee of the Revolution Society, and most of these were also active members of other societies, professing the same political principles with that which met at the London Tavern.

All these societies, both in the metropolis and in their various ramifications throughout the principal towns of Great Britain, now began to be unusually active. They circulated pamphlets, handbills, advertisements, essays, paragraphs; they employed all the arts of the press to assail every class of men with addresses to their respective passions, prejudices, and interests. Neither were these sudden and detached effects, springing from zeal and directed by caprice; they were planned and combined upon system, and, to keep them more steadily to one point, a new institution was formed under the denomination of The London Corresponding Society, the members of which were persons of inferior stations, artfully selected by the leaders of the higher clubs, as bolder and more effective instruments for the prosecution of what was called the common cause than men of superior condition and more respectable character. Much expectation was built on the communications to be made and received through this channel; as it was notorious that the domination of the Jacobin club at Paris over the whole extent of France was founded by a similar institution of a corresponding committee.

Gaining confidence from the increase of their numbers and connexions, these different societies, in order to establish a known and firm bond of political union, recommended in public resolutions, and circulated at their own expense in every possible shape, to catch the common people, the different productions of Thomas Payne, a native of England, who, during the war with the colonies, had published in America a paper entitled "Common Sense," which had done much injury to the royal cause. For his services the republican government conferred on him the post of secretary to the foreign department, from which he was dismissed for betraying state secrets, and returned to England. Here, by way of reply to Burke's Reflexions on the French Revolution, he produced the first part of his "Rights of Man," containing a review of the events of that revolution, accompanied by much satirical remark on the British constitution. This was speedily followed by a second part, which, passing far beyond the bounds of the first, professed to combine practice with principle.

About the same period, the members of the Revolution Society thought fit to publish, with great exultation and a proud assumption of merit towards the country, a collection of their proceedings and correspondence, both at home and abroad, from the autumn of 1789 to March, 1792. Though many of the papers had already appeared separately in the public prints without exciting particular observation, yet, when seen in connexion with others of equal or greater importance, they made a serious and deep impression. In almost all the communications with the Jacobinical clubs of France, the revolution in that country was not only praised in general terms, but that leading maxim of it, the sacred duty of insurrection, was particularly applauded, while sanguine expectations were expressed that other nations would profit by the example.

Our own revolution of 1688 was considered as imperfect, and the completion of this glorious work, it was repeatedly said, was only to be hoped from an imitation of the conduct of France; while the specific grievances from which Englishmen were thus to be delivered were stated to be, "royal prerogative injurious to the public interest; a servile peerage, a rapacious and intolerant clergy, and a corrupt representation." The celebrated vote of the National Assembly, renouncing all foreign conquests, was understood on both sides not as precluding the French from an acquisition of territory, but as affording them the means of extending their limits more widely and irresistibly by the propagation of their principles than could be effected by the sword: and a pretended league was formed with the Jacobins for spreading what was called the empire of liberty and truth over the whole world.

The National Assembly itself showed that it was far from disdaining the aid of the humblest coadjutors, by entering into an alliance with a party of obscure Englishmen, who, under the appellation of the London Constitutional Whigs, addressed it on the subject of the new constitution, and pledged themselves, as children of liberty, if any despotic power should attempt to enslave the French people, to risk their own lives and fortunes in their defence. The address of this distinguished society, which held its meetings at an alehouse in Frith Street, was inserted in the *proces-verbal* of the day, and communicated to the king by the commissioners who carried the decrees for the royal sanction. Nor were such honours sufficient. The president was ordered to return a written answer, in which he remarked, with the approbation of the Assembly, that "the inviolable treaty, which virtue alone had negociated, was simple as truth, eternal as reason;" and informed these new allies that the National Assembly accepted their good wishes; that "it accepted

the great example which they had given of their love for the laws." On this occasion, however, the Constitutional Whigs of Frith Street seem to have been mistaken for Whigs of a more ancient and respectable class: otherwise it is to be presumed that they would never have been styled, as they were in the Assembly, "the soundest part of the English nation, the opposition of England, and even England itself!"

In this critical posture of affairs, the ministers thought it their duty to advise a royal proclamation on the subject of these seditious proceedings. The proclamation was accordingly issued; and Chauvelin, the French minister in London, wrote to lord Grenville, now secretary of state for foreign affairs, declaring, in the name of the French nation, the legislative body, and the king, their entire disapprobation, and even ignorance, of any confederacy, between persons in England and France, tending to excite tumults here, and strongly expressing the good disposition of France to this country.

When the proclamation was taken up in the Commons, and an address to the throne moved, the ministers avowed that the proclamation was more especially directed against Payne's Rights of Man. The first part had been conceived to be so bold, profligate, and absurd, that it could not do much mischief; but, when clubs were formed for disseminating its flagitious principles, and attempts made to corrupt the minds of the common people, it was natural that alarm should be taken. A second part of that obnoxious publication had lately appeared, more abandoned if possible than the preceding: this government had resolved to prosecute, and to bring it before a jury without delay.

On this occasion, the ministers received the support of many members of both houses who were accustomed to vote with the opposition; and many withdrew their names

from the new association of the Friends of the People, in consequence of what they considered as an improper connexion with some of the societies affiliated and corresponding with the Jacobin club in Paris.

The author of the Rights of Man, on finding himself denounced by the government, deemed it prudent to withdraw to France, where he was soon afterwards elected a member of the National Convention. A prosecution was nevertheless instituted against him by the attorney-general for a libel on the British constitution. Notwithstanding the extraordinary professional abilities of Erskine, by whom he was defended, the jury declared him guilty; and the public abhorrence of his doctrines was so generally expressed, that, before the close of the year, there was scarcely a town or village in the kingdom where he had not been burned in effigy.

Owing to the royal proclamation and the political publications so industriously circulated, the whole British nation was at this time in a most agitated state. In all companies, the comparative merits of monarchical and republican government, and the necessity for parliamentary reform, were the sole topics of conversation, and persons of every rank and of both sexes entered with extraordinary eagerness into these discussions. In proportion, however, as the character of the French nation began to display itself in the sanguinary nature of their revolution, and the extravagant projects and sentiments which they avowed, persons of rank and property, and indeed all of moderate principles and disposition, became alarmed lest something similar might occur in this country. Under this impression, at the instigation of Mr. John Reeves, chief justice of Newfoundland, an association was instituted, in November, 1792, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in London, from which it took its name, for the avowed purpose of protecting liberty and property against

the attempts of republicans and levellers. Similar associations for the support of government were formed throughout the country, and, by the ensuing spring, there were few persons of rank, property, and respectability, whose names were not enrolled in them.

From the commencement of the revolution, the pacific disposition of the British government toward France was most unequivocally manifested. In the early part of 1792, both the army and navy had been reduced, agreeably to a recommendation from the throne, and ministers had withstood all solicitations to join the continental confederacy against France. Even after the deposition of the king, when Earl Gower was recalled from Paris, he was directed to give to the French rulers renewed assurances of neutrality. This pacific spirit was acknowledged by the French themselves. Lebrun, the minister, declared that the French government was confident that "the British cabinet would not at this decisive moment depart from the justice, moderation, and impartiality which it had hitherto displayed;" and Kersaint admitted in the Convention, on the 18th of September, "There is but one nation whose neutrality on the affairs of France is decidedly pronounced, and that is England."

The overthrow of royalty, and the successes of the arms and still more of the revolutionary machinations of the fiery republicans, produced a change of tone; and they adopted a language and measures absolutely incompatible with the peace of other States. A Jacobin club of 12,000 members was established at Chambery, the capital of Savoy, and sent out travelling missionaries, "to enlighten the people of that country respecting their regeneration and imprescriptible rights." War was declared by the National Convention against the king of Sardinia, on the 15th of September. An address, sent by the club to the Convention, who were styled, "the

legislators of the world," was ordered to be translated into English, Spanish, and German. The rebellious Savoyards then constituted a convention, in imitation of that of France, and sent deputies with an offer to incorporate themselves with the great republic. They were received with unbounded applause. The president, in his reply, predicted the speedy destruction of all thrones, and the regeneration of the human race; and he declared that "France would make common cause with all who were determined to throw off the yoke, and to obey none but themselves." The assembly unanimously accepted the offer. Savoy was incorporated with the republic as the department of Mont Blanc, and Nice and Monaco were formed into the department of the Maritime Alps.

The views of the French rulers soon extended to the subjection of the rest of the Sardinian dominions. "Piedmont," said Brissot, in a report on Genoa, "must be free. Your sword must not be returned to the scabbard, before all the subjects of your enemy are free, before you are encircled by a girdle of republics." In pursuance of this plan, a French squadron anchored in the Bay of Genoa: under the auspices of its officers, a Jacobin club was formed in the city. Similar movements in Geneva led to the occupation of that place by French troops.

At length, on the 19th of November, the Convention openly proclaimed war against all established governments, by passing a decree, declaring, in the name of the French nation, that it would grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wished to recover their liberty; and charging the executive power to order the generals to succour such people, and to protect those citizens who had suffered, or might suffer, in the cause of liberty. This was followed up, on the 15th of December, by another still more extraordinary decree. It purported that not only should all existing institutions be abolished in those

countries which were or should be occupied by the French armies, and the sovereignty of the people be established, but that the nation would treat as enemies all people who, renouncing liberty and equality, should desire to retain their princes and privileged castes, or to enter into an accommodation with them. This decree was immediately transmitted to the generals of the republican armies, to which commissaries also were sent to superintend the revolutionizing of the conquered districts, and these were charged not to allow even a shadow of the former authorities to remain.

It soon became obvious that Britain was included among the States on which the Convention purposed to confer the blessings of their new-fangled liberty and equality. On the 7th of November, the London Corresponding Society and four other associations of the like stamp presented an address to that assembly; and on the 28th two deputies of the Revolution Club appeared at the bar, to congratulate the Convention on their victories, and to make an offering of 6,000 pair of shoes for the French army. "The French," said these envoys in their speech, "would soon have it in their power to send letters of congratulation to the English National Convention;" an announcement which produced great exultation. "Those respectable islanders," said the president, "once our masters in the social art, have now become our disciples; and, treading in our steps, soon will the high-spirited English strike a blow, which shall resound to the extremity of Asia."

A circular addressed by Monge, minister of the marine, to the inhabitants of the French sea-ports, expressed still more clearly the determination of his government on this point. More than a month before the declaration of war, he wrote: — "The king and the English parliament wish for war with us; but will the English republicans

suffer it? These free men already testify the repugnance which they feel to bear arms against their brethren the French. We will fly to their assistance, we will land upon their coast, we will hurl among them fifty thousand caps of liberty, we will plant the sacred tree, and stretch out our hands to our republican brethren. The tyranny of their government shall soon be destroyed." Such was the language used towards a nation with whom the French were still at peace: it was evident that peace could no longer be maintained with them, especially as the same sentiments were responded by a numerous party on this side of the Channel.

Independently of these provocations, an act of aggression committed by France on the United Provinces, then in alliance with England, must have brought the latter into collision with the new republic. It had been provided by treaties that the river Scheldt should remain for ever closed. The fortune of war having brought the French army to Antwerp, the Convention by a decree ordered the commander-in-chief to open the Scheldt, and by another decree to pursue the Austrians into the Dutch territory. Accordingly, a French squadron sailed up the river, in defiance of the Dutch authorities, to assist in the siege of the citadel of Antwerp. Without attempting to justify this violation of treaties, they merely contended that "treaties extorted by cupidity, and granted by despotism, could not bind the free and enfranchised Belgians."

Such were the indications of hostility on which the English government thought it high time to act. On the 30th of November, the king issued proclamations for calling out the militia, and for summoning the parliament to meet on the 13th of December. The walls of the Tower were repaired, the ditch deepened, the ramparts raised, and planted with 150 pieces of cannon, brought

from Woolwich; and a naval force was equipped with the greatest despatch to give weight to the remonstrances that were to be made respecting the opening of the Scheldt.

Parliament assembled on the appointed day. The king, in his speech from the throne, adverted to the seditious practices which had been discovered, and the industry employed, evidently in connexion with foreign countries to excite discontent, and to destroy our happy constitution. "I have carefully observed," continued his majesty, "a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference in the internal affairs of France: but it is impossible to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which have there appeared of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies, the States General, who have observed the same neutrality with myself, measures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the stipulations of existing treaties." His majesty added that, for these reasons, he had thought it right to take steps for augmenting his naval and military force, convinced that such exertions were necessary for the preservation both of internal tranquillity and of the blessings of peace.

The debate on the address to this speech exhibited a great defection from the ranks of the opposition; 290 members supporting the ministers, and 50 voting for the amendment proposed by lord Wycombe.

After the imprisonment of Louis XVI., and the recall of Earl Gower from Paris, Chauvelin, the French ambassador, still continued to reside in London. Immediately after the opening of parliament, Fox moved that a minister should be sent to Paris to treat with the execu-

tive government of France, but, after a very animated debate, the motion was negatived. On account of the extraordinary influx of foreigners, particularly French, into England, and the efforts to excite disaffection at home, the administration submitted to parliament a bill subjecting all foreigners to certain regulations, and empowering his majesty to order such of them as he might think fit to leave the kingdom. While this bill was pending, the marquis of Lansdowne ineffectually moved an address to the king, recommending to his majesty to enter into a negociation with France, for the purpose of averting the fate with which Louis XVI. was threatened. "I am not disposed," said his lordship, "to flatter kings; but, if this can be excused, it is when speaking of a person overwhelmed with misfortune. Truth compels me to say that if ever a sovereign deserved well of his people, it was Louis XVI. Such a king is certainly not an object of punishment; all nations should, therefore, make a point of protecting him. It behoves England above all to do so. I have reason to believe that the unfortunate example set by Britain in the execution of Charles I. has encouraged the French to bring their king to trial. It is probable, too, that the interposition of no other nation would have such an effect as that of the English; for the French entertain a high idea of our justice and honour, and we have merited it by the strict impartiality which we have observed throughout the whole of their revolution."

These conciliatory suggestions of the opposition were treated by ministers as undeserving of consideration. Lord Grenville emphatically declared it impossible to find an Englishman so dead to every feeling of honour, virtue, and humanity, as to undertake such a mission. To no purpose it was replied that England had a consul at Algiers, and sent ambassadors to Morocco, though there was not an Englishman but abhorred the odious govern-

ment of those countries. Entrenched behind the convenient principle of non-interference, the administration made no effort either by negociation or remonstrance to save the hapless Louis. Hence it was not difficult for the champions of the revolution to throw upon the partisans of royalty a suspicion that the death of the king was at least not an unwelcome event to them, because they did nothing whatever to prevent it.

About the same time with the alien bill, another measure allied to it in principle was introduced. This was a bill to prevent the circulation of assignats, or any other paper-money issued by the French government, by declaring payments made in it to be illegal. During the month of December, an order in council was also issued, prohibiting the exportation of corn to France, and some ships which had grain on board were obliged to unload.

On the 17th of December, Chauvelin, with whom all diplomatic communication had long ceased, sent a note to lord Grenville, inquiring, in the name of the executive council of the French republic, whether his Britannic majesty was to be considered as a neutral or a hostile power. France, he said, had no wish to entertain a doubt on the subject; and her government was, therefore, anxious to remove misconceptions. He asserted that the decree of the 19th of November was not intended to favour insurrections in neutral or friendly States, and that it applied to those people only who might solicit the assistance of the Republic, by an unequivocal expression of the general will. He engaged that, so long as Holland confined herself within the bounds of strict neutrality, that neutrality should be respected; but alleged that the opening of the Scheldt was a question irrevocably decided by reason and justice, of little importance in itself in the opinion of both England and Holland, and which could not seriously be made a ground for war.

Lord Grenville in his answer disclaimed considering Chauvelin in any other character than as minister from Louis XVI. He denied that the obnoxious decree was satisfactorily explained, and argued that the neutrality of Holland was already violated by the navigation of the Scheldt. An official note from the executive power of France was transmitted through Chauvelin, in reply to the answer of lord Grenville. It attempted a further justification of the decree of the 19th of November, disclaimed all intention of making a conquest of the Netherlands; adding that, if the Belgians chose to forego the navigation of the Scheldt, France would not object. These explanations were declared unsatisfactory by lord Grenville.

On the 17th of January, 1793, Chauvelin sent to his lordship his letters of credence as ambassador from the French Republic, but the secretary refused to receive them, or to consider him in any other character than as one of the mass of foreigners residing in England; and, on the 24th of the same month, on the arrival of the intelligence of the king's execution, a passport for himself and his suite was sent to Chauvelin, with an intimation that after the fatal event he could no longer be considered as holding any public character in Britain, and that he was to leave the British dominions within eight days. It was signified at the same time that the government would still be willing to listen to terms of accommodation: but, on the 1st of February, the Convention unanimously declared war against Great Britain and Holland.

CHAPTER XXIII.

WAR WITH MYSORE.

During the latter years of peace at home, Great Britain was involved in hostilities with a restless and formidable neighbour of her possessions in the East, Tippoo Saib, sultan of Mysore.

Mysore, one of the kingdoms formed out of the ruins of the Mogul empire, and situated at the south-west extremity of the Peninsula of Hindoostan, had been governed for a century and a half by independent princes, when, in 1759, Hyder Ali, an able, daring, ambitious, and fortunate soldier, displaced the sovereign, whose army he had commanded, and usurped his throne. By the conquest of Canara and Calicut, and by other acquisitions, he enlarged his dominions in a few years, till they were equal in extent to two-thirds of France; and, at his death in 1782, he bequeathed them, together with his inveterate hatred of the English, to his son Tippoo Saib.

Possessing a revenue exceeding three millions sterling, and a regular army of 70,000 men, Tippoo Saib, a zealous Mussulman, besides his father's ambition and martial spirit, had the vanity to aspire to the character of the restorer of the Mohammedan faith in the vast Indian Peninsula. With the assistance of the French officers, whom the Mysore sovereigns had long kept in their pay, he might perhaps have realized this scheme in a great degree, if the ruin of the British power had not been necessary for his aggrandizement.

Listening to his French advisers, Tippoo despatched three ambassadors to Europe to solicit the aid of Louis XVI. The arrival of three Indians in Paris was a sight for that capital: they were the only topic of conversation; they attracted all eyes; and the name of Tippoo Saib

acquired a momentary celebrity among a volatile people, more struck with the novelty of the Asiatic costume than impressed with the importance of their eastern possessions. Louis, embarrassed by domestic troubles, the precursors of the revolution, could give them only fêtes, spectacles, and promises, and the ambassadors returned to their own country in May, 1789.

If the Indian ambassadors were objects of curiosity to France, France had been not less an object of curiosity to them. On their arrival at the court of their master, they could talk of nothing but the splendour of the kingdom which they had visited, of its arsenals, its mighty armies, its manufactures, its superb cities, its immense population, and the magnificence of the court of Versailles. These descriptions, heightened by the pompous phraseology of the East, excited deep interest at Seringapatam in all who heard them, excepting the sovereign: they only roused his indignation. He cared for the French no further than he could derive assistance from them; otherwise, he included them in his hatred of Europeans in general. He enjoined his babbling messengers to cease their praises of those infidels, but, finding that this order was not implicitly obeyed, he silenced two of them for ever, when walking with them in private, by commanding his attendants to plant their daggers in their hearts, upon the pretext that they had betrayed their sovereign. After this example, he was not annoyed by another syllable on the forbidden subject.

Though disappointed in his expectations from his French alliance, Tippoo eagerly seized the first opportunity that offered to commence hostilities. The Dutch had two forts, Cranganore and Jacottah, situate between their settlement of Cochin and the kingdom of Mysore. These forts were seized by Hyder Ali, in 1779, under pretence that they belonged to his tributary, the rajah of

Cochin. In the war which ensued between him and the English, that prince was obliged to withdraw his garrisons from the Malabar coast, in order to employ them in the Carnatic; and, soon afterwards, Holland and France having joined him against the English, the Dutch again obtained possession of the forts. Hyder spared neither remonstrances nor threats to regain it; but, as he was not in a condition to follow them up, they were of no avail. Tippoo, adhering to his father's politics, now resolved to enforce his claim to the disputed forts; and the Dutch, alarmed at his preparations, with more prudence than courage, sold their rights to the rajah of Travancore, who was an ally of the English. Tippoo objected to the legality of this purchase, asserting in his own right a feudal claim to the forts as sovereign of Mysore; and, the rajah peremptorily refusing to relinquish them, the sultan collected a powerful army, and, in 1789, commenced hostilities, by attacking the lines formed to protect the only accessible point of the frontier of Travancore, but was repulsed, and himself narrowly escaped with his life. In a second attempt, with a stronger force, he was more successful; he made himself master of the lines, which he destroyed, reduced Cranganore, Jacottah, and several smaller forts, and overran the whole northern district of Travancore.

Earl Cornwallis, who had succeeded Warren Hastings as governor-general of the British possessions in India, having remonstrated in vain with the invader, and obtained promises of co-operation from the Mahrattas, and the Nizam, or sovereign of Hyderabad, whose countries bordered on the Mysore territory, was meanwhile preparing to afford efficient assistance to our ally, the rajah. General Medows took the command of the Carnatic army of about 15,000 men, and general Abercromby of the Bombay forces, which were to join him. On the approach

of the former, Tippoo retired precipitately to his own capital.

Marching from Trichinopoly in 1790, Medows entered the Mysore territory, pushed on to Coimbatore, and stormed Dindigul and some other important forts. A detached corps under Colonel Floyd, while engaged in this service, was surprised by the sudden appearance of Tippoo, who, at the head of 40,000 fighting men, attacked the little camp. Though the English maintained their position against the immensely superior force of the sultan, it was deemed prudent to return to Coimbatore. Colonel Floyd, pursued by the enemy so closely that he was obliged to give them battle, obtained great credit for his masterly retreat, and his troops for their inflexible spirit and fortitude; having fasted for three successive days, fought two severe engagements, performed a long and difficult march in the face of a formidable foe, and lain on their arms during the whole of the intervening nights. General Medows, who hastened to the relief of this detachment, joined it at Velladi, and returned to Coimbatore, where he found colonel Hartley with a detachment of the Bombay forces.

In November, the army left for the defence of the Carnatic, commanded by colonel Maxwell, joined general Medows; but, the season being too far advanced for an attack on the heart of the Mysore dominions, the army proceeded to Vellout, about eighteen miles from Madras. Meanwhile, Abercromby had taken Cannanore, and made himself master of the whole coast of Malabar from Balliapatum to Travancore.

In January, 1791, Lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the British army in person, with the intention of pushing at once into the heart of the enemy's country. His first operation was against Bangalore, the second town in point of consequence in the sultan's dominions, before

which he encamped on the 5th of March. On the following morning, the pettah, or town, was assaulted and taken. This acquisition was of considerable importance, as the place contained large magazines of grain, forage, and fuel, and afforded admirable cover to the troops in the siege of the fort, which was immediately commenced. Twice Tippoo attempted, but ineffectually, to dislodge the besiegers from the pettah. A practicable breach being effected, on the night of the 21st of March the British proceeded to storm the fort. The troops pushed forward in three divisions, meeting at the gate, which they found completely choked up by the flying garrison. A terrible carnage ensued. The killahdar, or governor, with about 1000 of his men, perished, and 300 were made prisoners. The loss of the British amounted to no more than 50 killed and wounded. Immense quantities of military stores, and 124 pieces of cannon, were found in the fort.

Soon after this success, the British army was joined by the Nizam's cavalry, about 15,000 in number, and a detachment of 5000 native troops and Europeans, with supplies of provisions from Caroor; while Abercromby, who was marching towards Mysore with his force, was ordered to proceed to Periapatam, about three marches distant from Tippoo's capital. Having completed his arrangements, lord Cornwallis set forward, on the 3rd of May, for Seringapatam. Owing to the wretched state of the roads, he was foiled in an attempt to surprise the sultan in his camp, which led to a general action, terminating in the discomfiture of Tippoo, who fled for refuge under the batteries of the capital. The British army then encamped on the spot where the contest had terminated.

The prize now seemed almost within the grasp of the English commander, but the season and other unpropitious circumstances blasted this fair prospect. The river Cavery,

on an island in which Seringapatam is seated, swollen by the periodical rains that were now setting in, inundated the surrounding country; an epidemic disease swept off the draught cattle, or rendered them unfit for service; while a scarcity of grain and other articles of subsistence was most severely felt. Abercromby received orders to return to the Malabar coast. The ground at Caniambaddy, where the army had encamped to favour the junction, or to protect the retreat of the Bombay troops, was covered to the extent of several miles with the carcases of bullocks and horses; and the flames of the gun-carriages, carts, and stores of the battering train were the melancholy spectacle which the troops beheld as they quitted that deadly camp. It was computed that 40,000 head of cattle had perished since the commencement of the campaign.

Lord Cornwallis now directed his march towards Bangalore, and, on the first day, was met by the Mahratta force, consisting of 32,000 cavalry, coming to join him. The first object to which he turned his attention was to ensure the communication between the Mysore and the Carnatic, whence the large stores of camp equipage, provisions, and supplies, which he had ordered for the next campaign, were chiefly to be drawn. To this end, it was necessary to reduce the hill forts which command the different passes. Some of these, when taken, were garrisoned, others destroyed. It was desirable also to establish a like communication with the country of the Nizam, from which also important supplies were expected. The only fort on this line which gave much trouble to the assailants was Nundydroog, situated on the summit of a mountain 1700 feet high, and accessible only on one side, which was stormed after a fortnight's incessant toil and hazard. During these operations in the north of Mysore, Tippoo despatched a strong force to retake Coimbatore,

where lieutenant Chalmers and his small garrison, after defending themselves for some time, were obliged to surrender.

Successful in every quarter, the British commander, to facilitate the grand object of the ensuing campaign, determined to attempt the reduction of the principal forts situated in the country between Bangalore and Seringapatam. Of these the most important were Savendroog and Outradroog.

Savendroog is a mountain of rocks, 3000 feet in perpendicular height, and above nine miles in circumference at its base. It was secured on every side by many thick and well disposed walls and barriers, and also by palisades wherever it was accessible. The top is divided by an abyss into two summits, each crowned by a citadel and having its distinct means of defence. It is equally remarkable for the noxious quality of its atmosphere, whence it derives its name, which signifies the Rock of Death. On the strength of this fortress, hitherto deemed impregnable in the Peninsula, Tippoo placed the firmest reliance, and the garrison seemed to share the confidence of their master. With incredible labour and perseverance, the troops sent against it dragged the artillery through woods and up precipices, before batteries could be erected. A breach was made in a few days; and the assault, notwithstanding the difficulty of the enterprise, was successful almost beyond example. The works were carried in open day, without the loss of a single man; although the enemy left on the rock between two and three hundred killed and wounded. The same detachment then proceeded against Outradroog, which was likewise stormed without loss, two privates only being slightly wounded.

While the British army was spreading consternation by the reduction of these defences of the Mysore country, its Indian allies, who had separated from it at Bangalore, were

not inactive. The Nizam was employed in the siege of Gurrancondah, and made himself master of the lower fort; while the Mahrattas, under Purseram Bhow, took the important post of Simoga, after defeating a Mysore army of 10,000 horse. Encouraged by this success, he directed his course towards Bidnore, but was deterred from an attempt on that place by the arrival of Cummer ud Deen Khan, one of Tippoo's best generals, who had been despatched against him, and who retook Simoga. The Mahrattas then joined the Bombay army, which, to the number of 8,500, marched from Cananore, and penetrated into Mysore on the 22nd of January, 1792. The Nizam's forces joined the commander in chief at Outradroog, where the main army, which had been so actively engaged during the rains in subduing the hill forts, and in collecting the requisite stores and reinforcements, was ordered to assemble. This place, one of the strongest of Tippoo's forts, and only fifty miles from his capital, was fitted up as a general hospital, and formed into a magazine for the grain and public stores not immediately needed for the army. Owing to the reduction of the forts, convoys now arrived without molestation. By a good price and regular payment, the native brinjarries, or dealers in grain, were induced to supply the camp most abundantly; and these temptations placed the produce of the enemy's country, as well as their own, in the hands of the English.

Supplies being thus provided to an extent exceeding all former example, and having been joined at Outradroog by the Nizam's force, lord Cornwallis marched on the 1st of February from Outradroog for Seringapatam. Tippoo's cavalry, sent out to harass the invaders, made no impression, and was chiefly employed in burning the intermediate villages, and in laying waste the country. On the 5th, the allies pitched their camp on the north side of the Cavery, within view of the capital, which is seated

on an island, about four miles long and a mile and a half broad.

Opposite to Seringapatam, on both sides of the river, a large space was enclosed by a bound hedge, which afforded a refuge to the peasants during incursions of cavalry. Immediately behind this hedge was Tippoo's first line, or fortified camp, defended by redoubts and a train of 100 pieces of artillery; and in the island and its fort were thrice the number. The army of the sultan stationed for the defence of these points amounted to 50,000 men. Aware that he could not keep the field against the allies, Tippoo had employed his chief attention and the labour of his troops in fortifying this camp and the island, hoping to protract the siege till want of supplies or the approach of the monsoon might again force his enemies to abandon the enterprise.

Lord Cornwallis, after reconnoitring Tippoo's positions, decided on an immediate attack. On the evening of the 6th, the cavalry and artillery being left to defend the British camp, in the rear of which were stationed the Nizam and a division of the Mahrattas, the infantry, formed into three columns, advanced to the assault. This intention was kept secret from the Indian allies, who, on learning that the commander in chief, like a common soldier, was personally leading the attack, anticipated nothing less than utter ruin to themselves and to the assailants.

The three columns marched with equal intrepidity to execute the objects allotted to them. They had to encounter many obstacles; various conflicts ensued in different quarters of the enemy's camp; each party was uncertain of the fate of the rest, and each individual of that of his associates. The right column, under general Medows, which met with more impediments than the rest, attacked and carried the Eadgah, a redoubt on the ene-

my's left, defended by a numerous garrison, 500 of whom perished in the assault. It then marched to support the centre under lord Cornwallis, but, mistaking the proper track, it reached the Carighaut hill on the enemy's left, which was already in the possession of the left division. The centre column, having forced through the bound hedge under a heavy fire from the Sultan's redoubt, where Tippoo himself was stationed, carried that redoubt, and the lines, and so precipitately was the sultan obliged to abandon his tent, that his silver sticks, pikes, and mathematical instruments were found scattered in the place. The troops were then enabled to cross the river and penetrate into the island, where they pressed upon the fugitives so closely, that they would have entered the citadel with them, had not the drawbridge been hastily raised. They now forced their way into the town or pettah, which had been almost destroyed by the enemy, to afford free scope for his batteries. Here they found 27 half-starved Europeans, loaded with irons, and confined in dungeons: some of these had been given up to Tippoo by admiral Suffrein; others were deserters, whom he had treated with equal severity. The left division, under lieutenant colonel Maxwell, after securing possession of the Carighaut hill, crossed the Cavery, and penetrated into the island on the right flank of the enemy. The river was deep and rapid at this spot, which was, moreover, strongly defended by batteries; the troops, nevertheless, pushed forward with the bayonet, and at last joined the other divisions assembled at the pettah. Complete success had thus crowned his bold enterprise, which made the assailants masters of all the positions on the north side of the river, where the siege was to commence, and of almost the whole island. On the following day, the enemy made ineffectual efforts to recover their positions. In these conflicts, no fewer than 20,000 of their number had either

deserted or fallen, while the loss of the British in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 536.

The works formed for the defence of the capital now became lines of circumvallation for its attack; and the British, in possession of the island and town, made immediate preparations for the siege of the citadel, the last refuge of the sultan, who was now sufficiently humbled to think of suing for peace. He wrote to this effect to lord Cornwallis, and despatched his letter by two British officers, who had been detained contrary to the capitulation of Coimbatore, and treated with great cruelty. With the natural treachery of his disposition, he resorted to another expedient. He despatched a small party of horsemen to the British camp in the night, to assassinate the commander in chief; and, being mistaken for stragglers belonging to the Nizam's troops, they found little difficulty in entering the camp, and might have executed their commission, had they not been betrayed by their inquiries for his lordship's tent, when they were fired upon, and galloped off.

On the 15th, the Bombay army arrived; the trenches were opened, and Abercromby, with a strong detachment, cannonaded the fort from the heights. Tippoo himself, supported by the guns of the fort, marched to dislodge the general; but, after maintaining the action for the whole day, he was forced to retreat. This desperate effort was the last that the sultan made for his defence. Forced to submit to the terms offered by the allies, he signed the preliminaries of peace on the 23rd. He engaged to pay 3 crore and 30 lacks of rupees at two instalments, to cede half of his territories, to restore all the prisoners in his power, and to give two of his three eldest sons as hostages for the due performance of the treaty. The event showed that, but for this last condition, which the sultan felt most keenly, he never could have been induced to

fulfil the terms imposed upon him without a renewal of hostilities.

The division of the ceded territories was made in the manner best suited to the different powers. To the Nizam and the Mahrattas were allotted northern districts bordering on their respective countries. The share of the former comprehended about 13,750 square miles, that of the latter 6750; the portion reserved by the English, about 12,400 square miles, comprehended the country between the Ghauts and the Carnatic, extending from Amboor to the southernmost bend of the Cavery above Caroor, excepting the Coimbatore; with the addition of the fort of Dindigul and its district on the eastern side of Mysore; and, on the western, all the tract of the Malabar coast from Chitwa to Declah was ceded to the English.

In proportion as these acquisitions diminished the power and resources of a restless and implacable foe, they conferred additional strength and security on his neighbours by that impregnable barrier which was added to their territories. In the three campaigns Tippoo's losses had been very great; in the last alone 67 forts were taken; 800 pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the allies; and the number of his troops killed, wounded, and missing, was little short of 50,000 men. Few places of strength were left in his possession; his treasury was drained, the spirit of his army broken, and it was owing to the moderation of the British commander alone that he was still a sovereign, for he was at last entirely at the mercy of the conquerors.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIRST COALITION WAR.

If, while Louis XVI. was yet living, the British government had most cautiously abstained from every demonstration that could be construed into an interference with the internal affairs of France, the more profound was the impression produced in England by the intelligence of the king's execution. On the evening of the 24th of January, when it arrived, all the theatres were closed; not only the court, but the public in general, went into mourning for the ill-fated monarch; and, in the Catholic chapels, solemn services were performed for the repose of his soul.

On the actual declaration of hostilities by France—as it was obvious from the state of things that England would have to carry on war both by sea and on land—the minister lost no time in negociating treaties with various foreign powers, for procuring auxiliary troops. The Hanoverian army, about 17,000 strong, and a corps of 8,000 Hessians, were taken into British pay; on the 22nd of February, 2,000 English troops were expeditiously embarked for Holland; others soon followed; and the Duke of York was appointed to the command of the British forces on the continent, which were to act in conjunction with the prince of Coburg.

Holland followed precisely in the steps of her more powerful ally: but, if the British minister was reluctant to engage in a war with France, still less disposition was there in the United Provinces to hostilities with so formidable a neighbour; indeed, they were not prepared for war. Their fortresses and fleet were in bad condition, and the government without money for procuring the most needful supplies. Holland, therefore, was not

only averse to war, but afraid of it; and wished for nothing more ardently than to be suffered to maintain her neutrality towards France.

The German empire had been invaded by the French in 1792; but, though the Diet had agreed that an army should be levied for its defence, yet, with the tardiness usual in its operations, the declaration of war was not issued till the 22nd of March, 1793. The emperor, in his own name and that of the empire, appointed the prince of Saxe-Coburg to the command of the general force. It was not till the 14th of July, that a treaty between England and Prussia was signed; that with the emperor followed on the 30th of August.

Spain had been but little affected by the revolution which was convulsing the neighbour kingdom; and the cabinet of Madrid was adverse to the new order of things, not so much from state-policy and from considerations of family alliance, as from the general antipathy felt by the monarchical governments. Count d'Aranda, the minister, as well as his successor the Duke d'Alcudia, had cautiously abstained from everything that could give umbrage to the inflammable spirits which ruled France. At the moment of the condemnation of Louis XVI., he had offered to acknowledge the new Republic, and to employ his mediation with the allied powers, if the life of the dethroned king were spared. Danton moved a declaration of war by way of answer to this overture, and the assembly proceeded to the order of the day. From that time, the disposition of the Spanish cabinet for war was unequivocally manifested. Troops assembled in Catalonia, and naval armaments were actively equipping in all the ports. At Madrid, on the arrival of the news of the king's execution, the theatres were closed; the court festivities were suspended; and, both in the provinces and in the capital, solemn services were performed for

the royal victim. So incensed were the populace, that they sought to wreak their vengeance on such Frenchmen as chanced to be in Madrid; and all persons of that nation, who were not settled in the capital, received orders to leave it within forty-eight hours.

In France, the executive council immediately laid an embargo on all Spanish vessels, and ordered the French ships of war to capture those of Spain wherever they met with them. On the 7th of March, Barrère read to the Convention a report on the relations of the two countries, in consequence of which, that assembly declared war, on the same day against Spain; and, on the 25th of May, the cabinet of Madrid joined the coalition which the British minister was labouring to form against France, by concluding a treaty for mutual guarantee and support.

Against the king of Sardinia the French were particularly exasperated. Not content with taking possession, as we have seen, of a large portion of his continental dominions, they despatched a strong fleet, under Admiral Truguet from Toulon to Sardinia, with a view to the conquest of that island. On the 27th of January, 1793, this fleet, consisting of twenty-two sail, arrived in the road of Cagliari, the capital, which was summoned, but to no purpose. Truguet then bombarded the city, but it made so effective a defence, that the enemy, after sustaining considerable loss, were obliged to retire from the road. Before they had time to repair their damages, they were overtaken by a violent storm, which dispersed the fleet and further injured many of the ships. The French admiral, having received a large supply of ammunition, provisions, and a body of troops, resolved to make another attempt. He again began to bombard Cagliari, but met with as warm a reception as before. The fleet consisted altogether of more than forty ships of all classes,

and carried upwards of ten thousand land-forces, most of whom were disembarked; but, being repulsed with loss by the Sardinians, the admiral returned to France.

The king, who had already lost Savoy, seeing Piedmont threatened and Sardinia attacked, applied to his allies for assistance; and he was admitted, by a subsidiary treaty with Great Britain, into the great coalition against the infant Republic.

Just at this juncture, the Pope was involved by a particular circumstance, in fresh broils with the French government. Deeply mortified by its usurpation of his territories of Avignon and Venaissin, he had been further insulted by being burned in effigy in Paris, and again in August, 1792, when the populace of Marseilles tore down the papal arms from the house of the Roman consul in that city, and broke them in pieces: and for these affronts no satisfaction could be obtained. In the beginning of January, 1793, M. Basseville, secretary to the French ambassador in Naples, arrived at Rome. He ordered the king's arms to be taken down from the front of the house of the French Academy of Arts, and the arms of the French Republic set up in their place. The papal government refused its permission, and the French envoy threatened to accomplish the design by force. Accompanied by a military officer, he endeavoured to excite the populace to insurrection, but was pursued by the mob with execrations, and received a stab, of which he soon expired. The incensed Romans then set fire to the houses of the French Academy and of the French consul, and all persons of that nation in the city became marks for the popular vengeance. The government directed them to keep close at home; and, as many subsisted entirely upon alms, the Pope ordered 18,000 scudi to be distributed among them.

The Convention, on receiving intelligence of these events, decreed that the executive council should take speedy measures for revenging the death of Basseville. The council, in consequence, sent orders to Kellermann to march with the French army in Italy and conquer Rome. It was easy enough to issue such an order; its execution was soon found to be, at that time, impracticable. The Pope, however, entered into negotiations with the Austrian and British cabinets, and prepared for hostilities, but without a formal declaration of war, or sending troops against the Republic.

As soon as a combined English and Spanish fleet appeared in the Mediterranean, and the court of Naples deemed itself secured by the presence of this fleet against an attack from France, it joined the coalition, and engaged, by a treaty concluded with Great Britain on the 12th of July, to furnish 6,000 land-troops, four sail of the line, four frigates, and the like number of smaller vessels, to co-operate with the English forces.

Lastly, Portugal, whose policy had long been influenced by that of England, was induced in September, to accede to the treaty concluded with the latter by Spain.

The empress Catherine, as soon as tidings of the death of Louis XVI. reached Petersburg, issued a ukase, prohibiting all intercourse with France, and banishing from her dominions all the French who would not solemnly abjure the principles of the revolution. On the 25th of March, she concluded with the British government a commercial treaty for six years, and likewise a convention, by which both parties engaged to afford each other mutual support and assistance during the war, in order to obtain from the enemy that satisfaction and security which they had a right to expect, and to guarantee the public peace and safety of Europe for the future.

The Count de Provence, who, on the 28th of January, issued at Hamm, in Westphalia, a manifesto proclaiming himself regent and his brother Artois lieutenant-general of France, was recognised as such by Catherine, though Austria refused to acknowledge him. She invited Count d'Artois to Petersburg, loaded him with honours, appointed Count Romanzoff her ambassador to the French princes, and, in a most flattering letter, written with her own hand, she offered the prince of Condé and the other emigrants, a safe asylum in her dominions, lands in the Crimea, and a sum of money to defray the travelling expences of such of them as should accept the invitation.

But Catherine manifested her antipathy to the French revolution only at a distance, and merely in words and in diplomatic measures: to fit out an army or a fleet was no part of her policy; she found it more convenient to turn her arms against the unfortunate Poles, upon the pretext of crushing jacobinical principles, but in reality to extend her overgrown dominions by a second robbery of her helpless neighbour.

Towards the same quarter, Prussia also was directing wistful looks, and preparing to take military possession of the Polish provinces which, agreeably to the new partition treaty, were to fall to her share. In January, 1793, Möllendorf conducted a Prussian army to Poland. For this reason, the forces brought into the field against France were less considerable than in the preceding year. The ardour of the king himself for the war with France was greatly cooled, and policy scrupled not to represent the course pursued towards Poland, the national reform of which had nothing in common with French jacobinism, as the same in principle with the war against the latter. There was not, in fact, the slightest connexion between France and Poland; nor was it till towards the end of 1793 that Polish emigrants

applied to the committee of public welfare, and received from it expressions of friendship and some pecuniary assistance.

In England the preparations for war were prosecuted with the utmost vigour, in spite of the objections of the opposition and the outcry of those who were bitten by the mania of French liberty. By the mass of the people this was regarded as a national war, in which the king must be supported. Never had minister, since lord Chatham, possessed the confidence of the country to such a degree as his still more illustrious son; and never had the opposition party in parliament been so weak as during this war. The estimate of the expences of the war for 1793, submitted by the ministers to the House of Commons, amounted to £10,406,000, and, towards defraying this expenditure, government contracted for a loan of £4,500,000.

In March, an act was passed, prohibiting, upon the penalty of high-treason, the sale of arms, military stores, provisions, or clothing, to the French government or their armies. The purchase of lands in France was also forbidden. No person was allowed to go from this country to France without a license under the great seal; neither were British subjects permitted to return but under certain restrictions.

In consequence of the commercial treaty with France, the English merchants had become extensively and closely connected with those of that country. The war naturally produced a sudden stagnation of trade, which also suffered severely from the captures made by the swarms of privateers equipped by the French, and in some degree from the alarm which had been excited upon political subjects. The number of bankruptcies exceeded all that had ever happened in the most calamitous times; commercial credit was at a stand; bankers declined

to advance money to merchants and manufacturers, so that many, with very large stocks of goods, were unable to make the smallest payments. The interference of government was solicited; and, after an investigation of the subject by a committee of the House of Commons, an act was passed authorizing the government to issue five millions by Exchequer bills, in loans to such merchants and manufacturers as should deposit goods in security for the sum advanced. The bankers now became willing to accommodate them with money for their bills or other securities; not one half of the Exchequer bills was ever issued; trade gradually revived; and the enterprise of British merchants soon found out new channels for the disposal of the productions of industry.

During this session, a great number of petitions were addressed to the House of Commons, praying for a reform of the representation; and, on the 6th of May, Mr. Grey—that same Earl Grey, who lived to carry into effect, at least, some part of his plan, as minister in 1832—brought the question formally before the House. In a warm debate of two days, the projected reform was chiefly opposed on account of the hazard attending it, as exemplified in the case of France, and on account of the length to which its partizans out of doors wished it to be carried—namely, universal suffrage. Pitt contended that this principle of individual suffrage went to subvert the peerage, to depose the king, to abolish every hereditary distinction, every privileged order—in short, to establish that system of equalizing anarchy, announced in the code of French legislation, and attested in the blood shed in the massacres of Paris. The views of the minister were supported by 282 votes against 41.

A grant of £3,000 was voted during this session, by the Commons, for the establishment of a Board of Agriculture. Sir John Sinclair, the original proposer, was

placed at the head of this institution, which proved the means of collecting and laying before the public much useful information relative to the most valuable of all arts. The House likewise voted the renewal of the charter of the East India Company, for the term of twenty years from March 1st, 1794; and, during this year, government adopted the plan of erecting barracks, near all the large towns, to preserve the soldiers from the contagion of the French liberty fever, which mad enthusiasts were still striving to propagate.

Though the political ferment was rapidly subsiding, a considerable agitation still prevailed. In Scotland, public attention was strongly excited by the prosecution of Thomas Muir, a member of the faculty of advocates, and Fysche Palmer, a member of the university of Cambridge, acting as unitarian minister at Dundee. In autumn 1792, when the political agitation was at its height, the former, a man of but moderate abilities, though possessing the faculty of unpremeditated elocution in an extraordinary degree, collected and harangued numerous assemblages of the common people on the subject of popular reform, which produced an appearance of turbulence and disorder, alarming not only to the government, but even to persons disposed to favour the political sentiments which he avowed. Palmer, who was of a more literary turn, attended political societies, but without making any remarkable efforts. He was found guilty of publishing a political libel, not written by himself, but which he had corrected and ordered to be printed. Both were sentenced to transportation, Muir for fourteen, Palmer for seven years, and accordingly sent to Botany Bay. The severity of their sentence, though conformable to the practice of the Scottish courts, was censured by many as unreasonable: but it was reserved for the sagacity of a later

period to discover, that these persons had a just claim to the title of political martyrs, and to a public monument in the metropolis of the empire.

Not deterred by their fate, a number of obscure enthusiasts met at Edinburgh in November, and thought fit to style themselves the British Convention. Aping as closely as possible the forms and language of the French assembly, they mingled the solemn and the ridiculous with most ludicrous effect. At any other time, such proceedings would have excited nothing but ridicule; now, however, the example was considered dangerous, and some of the members, being brought to trial, were punished with the same severity as Muir and Palmer.

Besides the Crown and Anchor Association, which has been already mentioned, several societies were formed for the purpose of forwarding the measures of the government. The Patriotic Fund, instituted by the merchants at Lloyd's Coffee House, and most liberally supported by the affluent of all classes, allotted large sums in premiums to such seamen as distinguished themselves or were wounded in battle, and for the encouragement of persons fitting out privateers. The relatives and families of seamen who fell in action also partook of its bounty, and many naval officers were presented by this society with valuable swords or plate in acknowledgment of important public services. A society in Manchester granted a premium of three guineas to the first five hundred men who should enrol themselves as sailors; and similar societies were formed in other towns. The premiums added by these societies to those given by the government raised the bounty paid to an able seaman to the unusual sum of £13 sterling. Another society raised and completely equipped, at its own expence, eight hundred men for the service of the navy. Nor was the army forgotten. Societies arose, for the professed object of contributing to the comforts of the British soldiers in

the Netherlands, and alleviating the condition of the widows and families of those who should fall. Some supplied them with warmer and better clothing, and it became a fashion for ladies, even of the most exalted rank, to make articles of this kind with their own hands, the queen and the princesses setting the praiseworthy example.

The French declaration of war was followed, on the part of the British government, by the most energetic preparations for the conflict. Four squadrons were equipped; the first, consisting of seven sail of the line and four frigates, under the command of rear-admiral Gardner, sailed on the 24th of March for the West Indies. On the passage, it took two richly laden French East Indiamen, and carried them into Lisbon. Before it arrived at Barbadoes, the island of Tobago had been reduced by the commanders of the naval and military forces on that station. Taking on board three thousand troops, the admiral immediately proceeded to attack Martinique, the most flourishing of the French Windward Islands. Relying upon support from the royalists, the British force landed with little resistance, but, being inadequate to the undertaking, it was obliged to retreat with loss, leaving many unfortunate emigrants to be butchered by their enraged countrymen. The rear-admiral, after this failure, detached two of his ships to reinforce the commander on the Jamaica station, and returned with the rest to England.

The second squadron, under the command of admiral Gell, consisting of six sail of the line and several frigates, left England on the 5th of April for the Mediterranean. Not long after it sailed, it had the good fortune to capture a French privateer, called the Dumouriez, with a prize which she had recently taken, the St. Jago, a Spanish register-ship, laden with gold, silver, and other

valuable commodities, to the estimated value of £1,300,000. The admiral detached the Edgar to convoy the St. Jago to England. Here she was claimed by the Spanish ambassador on behalf of the king, his master; but the Court of Admiralty decided that, the ship having been taken by the French, and remained eleven days in possession of the captors, could no longer be considered as Spanish property, and was, therefore, a good prize.

The third squadron, commanded by admiral Cosby, likewise sailed for the Mediterranean, and joined admiral Goodall at Gibraltar; while a fourth, under admiral Hood, lay in readiness to sail at Plymouth.

CHAPTER XXV.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE JACOBINS AND THE GIRONDISTS IN THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The Convention, on its part, was, meanwhile, actively engaged in organizing the military force, and increasing the means of defying the threatened tempest. A committee of general defence was instituted; the national guard was placed in permanent requisition, as were, likewise, all bachelors and widowers without children; an immediate levy of 300,000 men was decreed; bells were melted down to be cast into cannon; and the mass of the assignats was augmented by eight hundred million. Two reports on the general organization of the army were presented by Dubois Crancé, both containing excellent hints for a new system of revolutionary warfare; and Isnard composed spirited proclamations to the people of France.

At the opening of the campaign, the armies were,

nevertheless, in a state indicating but little preparation for carrying on the war with vigour, and especially that commanded by Dumouriez, on which most then depended. The volunteers who entered in 1792 had been looking forward to the 1st of October, as the term of their service, and submitted with great repugnance to the prolongation of the time. An address, exhorting them to stay with their colours, had but little effect; a prodigious desertion ensued: the lowest computation states the amount at 10,000 men; Dumouriez says 15,000. The unblushing knavery of the contractors had a most pernicious influence on that army; not less so the scandalous rapacity of Danton and Lacroix, while commissioners in Belgium, and the mischievous activity of the Jacobin demagogues, Marat's accusation of Dumouriez, and the negligence and cabals of Pache, who left that general without reinforcement, just as the Gironde had done by Lafayette in the preceding year. The demoralization of the soldiers was, likewise, promoted by immediate encouragement to insubordination towards their officers, and to plunder and violence against the inhabitants of Belgium.

The army of the Pyrenees was in a state of still greater destitution. Anselme, commander of the army of the Var, was placed under accusation as a traitor, but, excepting the appointment of Biron as his successor, very little was done towards supplying its wants.

Upon the whole, the party-struggle between the Mountain and the Gironde tended to prevent an imposing military force from being brought into the field.

That party in the National Convention denominated the Mountain, from the high amphitheatrical seats, opposite to the president, which its members were accustomed to occupy, was far from having arrived by the death of the king at its proposed goal. These men, while

affecting to be champions of the constitution, had destroyed it; and, while calling themselves friends of liberty and equality, they were founding a despotic and sanguinary tyranny, which has had no parallel in the whole history of the world. Though from the first in the minority, and far surpassed in eloquence and material resources by the parties opposed to them, they had overcome them by a judicious application of their conjoint force—the royalists in the first National Assembly with the aid of the constitutionalists, and the constitutionalists of the second with the assistance of the republicans of the Gironde; and now they were about to commence with the latter that struggle which was to terminate in the possession of exclusive power or utter destruction. To appearance, the Girondists had all the advantages for this contest. They possessed higher popular favour, for all republican France was on their side; superior talents — Vergniaud, Brissot, Rabaut St. Etienne, Gaudet, Gensonné, Valazé, Louvet, Condorcet, and Roland, were distinguished names, independently of the revolution, either as masters of oratory, profound thinkers, or favourite writers; greater power — the ministerial offices and the leading committees were chiefly in their hands; lastly—majority in number; for it was to be expected that the centre of the Convention, attached to neither party, would side with the more moderate.

The Mountain, nevertheless, outweighed these seeming advantages by its authority over the lowest classes of the people, by the devotion of the municipality, which had in its pay numerous bands of ruffians and murderers, by the greater firmness of its resolutions, by savage recklessness as to its means, above all, by the more perfect unity of its plans, arising from the monarchical direction of its democratic energy. Marat, though incessantly clamouring about liberty and equality,

repeatedly adverted to the subject of a dictator, who alone could protect the people from their enemies. The people whom he meant were the labouring population of the faubourgs and the street-rabble of the capital; their enemies were those who possessed some property, and lived decently. As these people could not govern themselves, it was proposed that a representative, with unlimited power, should assume and exercise the supreme authority.

Atrocious as were the proceedings of this party, and little as it possessed of true heroism and greatness of character, it cannot be denied that its leaders thoroughly understood the art of co-operating in one common object, of employing their adherents as blind tools of their purposes, and of overawing the great mass of the timid and the moderate by means of terror. Each member of the Gironde, on the other hand, laboured for himself; each strove to make his particular opinion triumphant; and none of them was willing to admit that another surpassed himself in abilities and influence. In this conflict of clear heads, generous minds, and eloquent orators, with ignorant fanatics, repulsive hypocrites, and vulgar brawlers, division, weakness, and vacillation succumbed, as they always must, to greater unity, energy, and perseverance.

On the day after the king's condemnation, the Convention, on the motion of Gensonné, decreed the prosecution of the authors of the September massacres. It was not without great difficulty that the Girondists carried this point; and the Maratists, the real authors of those massacres, were firmly resolved to prevent the execution of the decree; indeed, they made a public boast of those atrocities. Collot d'Herbois declared, in the Jacobin club, that they only were true patriots who approved those massacres; and Anacharsis Cloots took

the trouble to invent a new term in honour of the actors, whom he called Septembrisers.

In consequence of the decree just mentioned, eight men, known to have taken part in the slaughter, were apprehended in the night of the 27th of January at Meaux. As soon as the news of their imprisonment reached Paris, the Maratists most strenuously exerted themselves to procure their release, being apprehensive lest their examination and a closer investigation of the matter might lead to a discovery of their own guilt. The federalists, or national guards, whom the Girondists had brought from the departments to Paris for their protection, and who had been completely gained by the Jacobin faction, were now set to work. A deputation of these men, who had assumed the name of "defenders of the Republic, one and indivisible," appeared on the 8th of February at the bar of the Convention, and their spokesman declared that they were ready to revenge the death of Lepelletier with the blood of all the enemies of the people. In an insolent speech, they demanded the repeal of the decree against the authors of the September murders, and the release of the prisoners of Meaux. Several of the Jacobin members supported this demand, and St. André went so far as to pronounce a panegyric on the murderers. "It is indeed true," said he, "that they have imbrued their hands in blood, but their motives were pure." Lanjuinais opposed with energy and eloquence these champions of the most horrible atrocities recorded in history; but it was finally decided that the proceedings against the authors of the September massacres should be suspended.

On the 10th of February, at the instigation of the Girondists, a deputation of the section of Les Halles appeared at the bar of the Convention, to petition that the members of the Committee of Safety, and particularly

Panis, Sergent, and Tallien, might be called to account for the immense sums which they had seized during the September massacres in the houses of the victims. Panis declared, in a rage, that he could not comprehend how any account could be required of them; they had no account to render; and nobody would believe that he or his colleagues had been guilty of robbery. Marat and Poultier supported him. To no purpose did Lanjuinais argue that it behoved the members of the Committee of Safety, for the sake of their own honour, to account for the sums which had come into their hands. Carrier and Poultier loaded him with abuse; the Convention passed to the order of the day; and the accused were left in undisturbed possession of their plunder.

This attack of the Girondists produced another on the following day from the partisans of Marat. While the Convention was sitting, a letter was delivered to the president, intimating that deputies of the united sections of Paris desired admission to the bar to present a petition. "Hunger," it was said in this letter, "puts up with no delay: we cannot possibly go away till we have been admitted; nothing less can remove us than a decree passed in the presence of the federalists of Paris and of the eighty-four departments, who have risen along with us." The Girondists murmured on hearing this threat. They found in the letter the same audacious tone by which the decree in favour of the Septembrisers had been extorted; the assembly passed to the order of the day, and the petitioners were referred to the committee of agriculture.

Undaunted by this repulse, the deputies of the sections again presented themselves on the following day, and were admitted to the bar. They spoke in an insolent tone. "It is by no means sufficient," said they, "for you to resolve that we shall be republicans; the people

must be happy as well. They must have bread, for, where there is no bread, there are no laws, no liberty, no republic. The people have risen, and we desire that, upon pain of death, the sack of wheat weighing 250 pounds be sold at the rate of 25 livres." They also desired that all farmers refusing to take their corn to market and to sell it at a fixed price should be sent to the galleys for six years. This demand, so contrary to the system of a free trade in corn, adopted by the Convention, excited great murmurs; and, when it was discovered that these deputies were empowered by no more than 30 of the 48 sections of Paris, they were refused the honours of the sitting, and required to give their names and addresses, that further inquiry might be made concerning the motives of this petition.

"The prediction of Vergniaud is now fulfilled," said Buzot on this occasion. "Recollect that he exclaimed, 'As you are now told that bread is dear, and that the cause of this dearth is in the Temple, you will one day be told, 'Bread is dear, and the cause of the dearth is in the National Convention.'"

With a view to put an end to the incessant annoyance of the Maratists, and to get the government entirely into their own hands, the Girondists hastened to complete the plan of the new constitution, which was the joint production of Sieyès, Thomas Payne, Brissot, Petion, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Barrère, and Condorcet. It was submitted to the Convention on the 15th of February, with an introductory speech by Condorcet. The Maratists, however, prevented any discussion on the subject; and they contrived to excite commotions in Paris, which, together with the unfavourable accounts received about the same time from the armies, had the effect of causing the consideration of this plan to be deferred and finally abandoned.

On the 21st of February, Marat went out of the way to seek a fresh quarrel. He charged Roland, who had resigned the office of minister of the interior, with peculation, and accused the Girondists of dining at his house. Duhem supported Marat, applying, at the same time, brutal epithets to his opponents. All the recent debates, indeed, had been liberally interlarded with vulgar abuse by the ultra-Jacobins. Marat called the Girondists to their faces ragamuffins, aristocrats, scoundrels; and others styled them counter-revolutionists, conspirators. It was beneath the Girondists to resort to the like weapons: but, as these insults of their brutal adversaries passed unrebuked, the habitual exposure to them contributed, in some measure, to their ultimate defeat.

The election of Pache, a devoted tool of the Jacobins, to the office of mayor, served in no small degree to encourage the popular commotions which soon followed in Paris. On the 24th of February, fresh petitions were presented on the subject of relief from the dearth. A deputation of washerwomen complained of forestalling, and alleged that the price of soap had been raised during the last month from 14 to 32 sous per pound; and another, of female Jacobins, desired a prohibition of the trade in silver coin — that is to say, jobbing with specie against assignats. It was just at this time that Robespierre declared that the wealthiest person ought not to possess an income of more than 3000 francs, and that every one was a forestaller who did not live by daily labour or by charity; while Marat insisted, in the paper which he published, that some of the shopkeepers ought to be hanged before their doors, and their houses plundered.

This suggestion was but too readily followed. On the morning of the 25th of February, troops of women, partly armed with pistols, and among whom were men in the dress of the other sex, assembled, and repaired to the

shops of the bakers and grocers, forcing them to sell their commodities at reduced prices, or taking them away without payment. Many of those shops were completely plundered. In this manner they proceeded from street to street. Though notice of the riot was given to the municipality, and complaints were presented from individual sections, yet the preparations for checking the disgraceful outrages were so tardily made, that the populace dispersed rather from sheer weariness than from compulsion, but not before two o'clock in the morning. This was a day of disgrace to the municipality, of exultation to the Jacobins, of sorrow and alarm to the Gironde. When, on the evening of the 25th, the events of the day were adverted to in the Jacobin club, one of the members declared that the people were not to blame, but Brissot and his party, and that Roland had excited the disturbance with the money of which he had robbed the nation. Robespierre insisted that there was a just feeling of indignation in the people, that the people were never in the wrong, and that the mischief proceeded from the counter-revolutionary party in the Convention. Collot d'Herbois sneered at "his majesty Roland," asserted that he had sent twelve millions to England, and that he must mount the scaffold. These expressions, and the Jacobinical zeal expressed against the "appellants"—that is, those members of the Convention who had voted for an appeal to the people relative to the execution of the king—foreboded violent scenes for that assembly.

On the 20th, Barrère was the first to express his indignation at the events of the preceding day, and urged the punishment of the authors of the disturbance, sagely intimating that the English had had a hand in the affair. Salles, however, boldly charged Marat with having instigated the outrages, and read the passage from his journal, calling upon the people to plunder and hang some of the

shopkeepers. The Girondists demanded a decree of accusation against him. Marat ascended the tribune. Pointing to the right side of the hall, where the Girondists sat, "It is natural," said he, "that a criminal party, that a horde which hates liberty, that horde which got up a conspiracy to save the tyrant, which purposed to bring a civil war upon the revolution, and which sees no safety for itself but in a counter-revolution—it is natural that this horde should accuse me, because I have availed myself of the freedom of opinion, and proposed in one of my papers to leave to the people the only means by which, in the silence of the laws, it is possible for them to be saved. What! because, in the indignation of my heart against Roland's criminal party, I have said that the shops of the forestallers ought to be plundered, and these hanged before their own doors, which is the only way to save the people, do they now dare to demand a decree of accusation against me!" He then descended from the tribune, laughing, and exclaiming, "The hogs! the blockheads!"

After a long debate, carried on with the usual defiance of decorum, the motion for an accusation was negatived, and a decree passed, directing Garat, the minister of justice, to prosecute officially the authors and instigators of the outrages. This was as usual a bootless victory for the Gironde. Garat commenced an investigation, but ascertained in a few days that the participators in the commotion were too numerous to be prosecuted with any chance of success: being a man of weak character, he was moreover deterred by fear of the violent party from taking any decisive steps, and so blinded by prejudice as to deem the machinations of the Mountain far less mischievous than they were. The decree, therefore, was not carried into execution. Robespierre strove, in a malicious essay, to connect the "virtuous" Roland and the excesses of the 25th of February; and a report was at

the same time circulated that the few prisoners apprehended on that day were persons formerly of title, abbés, and servants of aristocrats.

Intelligence of disasters in Belgium, received in the first days of March, caused the adoption of several energetic measures: every leave of absence was to be recalled, and commissioners were to be sent into the departments; the municipality ordered all theatres to be closed, issued a proclamation summoning the citizens to arms, and caused a black flag to be hoisted on the tower of Notre Dame. At the same time, preparations for an act of sanguinary violence against the Girondists were continued. Duhem moved that the Convention should expel all journalists who corrupted the public mind. Many of the members of the Gironde were engaged in periodical publications, and Brissot, in the *Patriote français*, had stated that Robespierre and Billaud Varennes had exhorted the people to rise against the "intriguers and the moderates."

After the massacre at Orleans, in September, the criminal tribunal there had dissolved itself; and that which was established on the 17th of August was abolished on the 19th of November. On the 9th of March, several members of the Convention reported that two of the sections desired to have a new revolutionary criminal tribunal. Carrier made a motion to this effect, and it was decreed with little opposition. Danton proposed to set at liberty all prisoners for debt; the motion was adopted by acclamation, and the assembly further decreed the abolition of imprisonment for debt. Baudouin, the manager of the national printing-office, entered the hall, and reported that all his men had left him; upon which Thuriot cried out that he need not print aristocratic journals, and proposed that all such journals should be proscribed.

It was not long before the suggestions of Duhem and Thuriot were followed up. On the evening of the 9th, several hundred men, led by Fournier, Varlet, and other subordinate Jacobins, proceeded to the house of Gorsas, the deputy and journalist, and destroyed his presses; while the owner saved himself from ill-usage, and perhaps death, by leaping over the wall of the yard. Instead of pursuing energetic measures for punishing such outrages and preventing their recurrence, the Convention decreed that no deputy should carry on a journal. Brissot, in consequence, relinquished the *Patriote français;* while Marat, who called the decree an absurd one, merely changed the title of his *Ami du Peuple*, and continued it as *Le Publiciste*. This was a fresh humiliation for the Gironde. But that decree, repealed some time afterwards, was not the object of the conspiracy of the 10th, which seems to have been directed against the lives of the leaders of the Gironde.

This conspiracy was at first attributed to the Orleans party, and more especially to Danton, who was set down for its head: the intrigues of England were also alleged to have had some hand in it. Every reader knows how little credit is due to these and the like assertions. At this time, the two parties, in the interchange of invectives, accused each other of being in the pay of England or of Orleans, without having the slightest ground for their imputations. It seems as if the similarity of the phenomena of this day to those of the 2nd of September had directed suspicion to Danton: as at that time, so all were now alarmed or excited by the prospect of danger from war; on the 10th of March, he spoke with the same threatening vehemence as he had done on the 2nd of September: and therefore conjecture fixed on him as the instigator of the intended massacre. He is also said to have plotted with the Orleans party to proclaim the

duke protector on the night of the 10th of March. Of any fresh plan of massacre, he must be positively acquitted: on several occasions he manifested a disposition to approach the Girondists; he sincerely offered them his hand, and it was not his fault if a complete reconciliation did not take place. But Danton was far too energetic a republican, far too confident in his own powers, to lend himself to any schemes of the duke of Orleans, or to serve for the instrument of his elevation. He was, indeed, in connexion with Dumouriez: but this would rather seem to indicate a mediatory position between the Mountain and the Gironde, to which Dumouriez inclined; or, to give a worse interpretation to the matter, it would rather argue a desire to spare Dumouriez, that he might say nothing about Danton's peculations in Belgium, than a knowledge of the alleged object of the former to place the duke of Chartres on the throne. Neither is the slightest trace of a connexion between the conspiracy of the 10th of March and the plans of Dumouriez to be discovered.

As Danton must be completely absolved on this score, so it appears that neither Robespierre nor Marat took the lead in the projected violence; but no one can acquit them of the guilt of having instigated it by their calumnies and invectives. Thus, in this case, as in the affairs of the 20th of June and the 10th of August, we have to descend to the second-rate demagogues, that crew of subordinate agents of those leaders, to a Fournier, a Varlet, and their associates. If, as Santerre reported to the Convention, a king was talked of and Orleans mentioned, this would perfectly apply to that mercenary horde. Besides these, who played a part in the club of the Cordeliers, we must recollect the demagogues of the municipality, Chaumette and Hebert, who could scarcely fail to be implicated in any plot

against the Gironde and in any movement of the clubs and sections.

It appears certain that the plan of the conspirators embraced the murder of the Girondists, and that too in the National Convention itself. It was secretly contrived that no woman should that day be admitted into the galleries, and the most daring ruffians of the Jacobin party were summoned to come "upon an expedition" to the Convention. The evening session was fixed upon as the time for executing the sanguinary design.

The day sitting of the 10th was very stormy. Robespierre declaimed against the misconduct of the superior officers of the army in Belgium. He said that, if the victories of the armies were to be beneficial to the republic, tranquillity ought to prevail in the interior; and urged the necessity of a new organization of the executive power, which should be vested in a committee of chosen patriots, who ought to be in close connexion with the Convention. Danton spoke in favour of Dumouriez, but proposed that commissioners should be sent to the frontier, and in impressive terms warned the assembly against personalities and party strife. "What care I for my character!" he exclaimed. "So France be but free, let my name be branded with everlasting infamy. What care I if I am called a quaffer of blood! Yes, yes, let us drink the blood of our enemies! Let us fight, let us conquer liberty! Fulfil your high destination. Cease all debates, cease all wrangling! Go, traverse the republic, cry to all those who have property, 'Wretches, spend your wealth! The people are in distress; the day-labourer can no longer procure necessaries.' Up! up! let us set France in motion!" This speech, delivered in a thundering voice, with hideous distortions of face and great vehemence of action, produced a powerful effect, and was loudly applauded.

Cambacérès called the attention of the assembly to the subject of the new criminal tribunal. Lindet proposed that it should consist of nine members nominated by the Convention; that it should be dispensed from the ordinary forms and have a right to resort to all possible means of attaining conviction, and that the property of all who were sentenced to death should be confiscated. A violent discussion ensued. Vergniaud exclaimed: "Death in preference to such an Inquisition, a thousand times worse than that of Venice!" Brissot declared that, under such a tribunal, people would have reason to regret the old Bastilles and royalty. Amar, on the contrary, threatened a popular insurrection. Barrère made a conciliatory speech in his manner, and, when it was agreed that the jury should be selected from all the departments and nominated by the Convention, the Gironde yielded. The erection of that engine of republican tyranny, which acquired such infamous notoriety as the Revolutionary Tribunal, was decreed.

Danton again ascended the tribune, and in a torrent of volcanic eloquence urged the immediate formation of the tribunal, to prevent the recurrence of the scenes of September, and also the organization of the executive power. "To-morrow," he continued, "military movement: let your commissioners set out to-morrow; let all France rise, fly to arms, march against the enemy. Let Holland be overrun, Belgium liberated, the commerce of England ruined; let our arms, every where victorious, carry deliverance and happiness to the nations, and let the world be avenged!" This speech was greeted with undivided applause. It was no illusion played off to blind the threatened Girondists, who, having received warning, came armed to the assembly; nor could they regard Danton as one of those foes who were plotting their destruction.

In the evening sitting, Pache and Santerre entered

and reported the failure of the intended movement. The former related that the armed populace had congregated in the environs of the Champs Elysées and the terrace of the Feuillants, and from the Jacobin Club they were to have proceeded in two bodies, the one to the National Convention, the other to the houses of the ministers, when the barriers were to have been closed and the alarm-bells rung; but the sections were not unanimous. The people of the faubourg St. Antoine refused to join the rioters; the municipality would not suffer the alarm-bells to be rung; Beurnonville, the minister of war, on the first seditious movement, marched up a battalion of the National Guard; and the torrents of rain falling at the same time contributed to disperse the rabble. Had they even persisted in their intention of penetrating into the hall of the Convention, the blind tools of the Jacobin faction would have been disappointed, for the Girondists had prudently absented themselves. Santerre added that, among other seditious expressions used by the people, some had declared that it was necessary to have a king; and, while one party insisted on having citizen Egalité, another proposed to recall his son from the army, and make him commander of the National Guard of Paris.

Garat, the minister of justice, who was ordered to proceed officially against the authors of the conspiracy, declared on the 13th that he was unable to discover them. On the same day, Vergniaud adverted to the subject in a speech replete with eloquence, in which he drew a striking picture of revolutionary liberty. "People say to us, 'You are free, but you must think as we do, and bow your heads to the idol that we worship. Persecute with us the men whose integrity and penetration we dread, or we will deliver you up to the popular vengeance.' Citizens, I fear that the revolution will, like Saturn, de-

vour one of her children after another,and end in despotism." Instead, however, of boldly laying the charge of the meditated outrage at the door of the Jacobins and the Maratists, he had the inconsistency and timidity to charge it to the account of the aristocrats and royalists, whose tools those men of violence and blood had consented to become. When his party reproached him for this turn to the accusation, he replied that he had spared the real conspirators, lest he should exasperate still more that party which was accustomed to resort to the most atrocious means. After this excuse, it was easy to anticipate the fate that awaited himself and the Gironde.

On the 13th of March, the judges and jury of the revolutionary tribunal were appointed: most of them belonged to the party of the Mountain and were imbued with its spirit. For a few days, the strife in the Convention seemed to be suspended, and meanwhile two of its members, Manuel and Leonard Bourdon, had well nigh lost their lives in popular tumults. The former, since his secession from the assembly as good as outlawed by the populace, was attacked on the 14th at Montargis, and so severely handled by the rabble, who would have hanged him, that he was rescued half dead from their fury. Bourdon, a coarse and vulgar zealot, of the Mountain party, provoked the mob at Orleans on the 16th of March, and narrowly escaped with his life. The city was therefore declared in a state of rebellion, and a great number of persons, most of whom had no hand in the outrage, were apprehended and afterwards sent to the guillotine.

About the same time arrived intelligence of the insurrection in La Vendée, and this served to rekindle the vengeance of the Convention against royalists and priests. The civil death of emigrants was pronounced by one decreë, and another enacted that priests who had returned

from transportation, and emigrants found in France eight days after the publication of this law, should be executed within twenty-four hours from their apprehension. With especial reference to La Vendée, all who should oppose the levy of recruits, as the people of that district had done, were declared outlaws.

On the 21st, a new authority, directed in the first instance against foreigners, was created, by a decree instituting a committee of surveillance in every commune—a measure which opened a door to the most cruel annoyances and acts of violence against the citizens in general. The committee of general defence was next re-organized as the Committee of Public Welfare, and deputies of both parties were nominated members of it. The disarming of all the *ci-devant* nobles, of priests, and of suspected persons in general, was decreed. The beating of drums, domiciliary visits, arrests, excited universal dread of a repetition of the September massacres; the most vexatious and harassing chicanery was practised in the demand and examination of passports and of certificates of civism; and preposterous conceptions of the sovereignty of the people led to cruel acts of despotism on the part of the local authorities even in petty communes. On the 29th of March, a suggestion, broached at the Jacobin Club, that lists of all inmates should be attached to every house, was converted into a decree; and on the same day a motion of Lamarque's, that every writer advocating the restoration of royalty, or exciting to murder or plunder, should be punished with death, was adopted without opposition, though the united influence of the Gironde had failed to bring Marat to account for such instigations.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DEFECTION AND FLIGHT OF DUMOURIEZ.

Dumouriez, who commanded the army in the Netherlands, was deeply interested in the struggle of the parties in Paris. Though he had formerly professed attachment to the Jacobins, yet the Maratists were no friends of his, because he had shown an indisposition to carry out their principles to their full extent in the conquered countries, but sought to win by mildness and moderation.

When the battle of Jemappes gave him possession of Belgium, he proclaimed to the people of the Netherlands that the French came as friends and brothers, to expel their tyrants and to restore their freedom; and he called upon them to give themselves such a constitution as they deemed suitable to their manners and customs. Amidst the ferment which the Belgian revolution, but recently suppressed, had left behind, this summons was cheerfully complied with; and the Belgians were about to establish themselves as an independent people, on the footing of their ancient constitution, and to prove their gratitude to their deliverers, by raising an army and by the voluntary gift of a large pecuniary contribution, when the Convention mortified them more than the emperor Joseph had done by his detested reforms. A decree of the 15th of December, 1792, abolished all the pre-existing authorities in Flanders and Brabant, and prescribed a constitution modelled after that of France. All the property, moveable and immoveable, of the clergy, of the princes, and of the communes, was sequestrated; tithes and all seignorial rights were declared to be annulled. The Belgians, who had rebelled against Joseph for a similar procedure, were exasperated in the highest degree; and all their hatred

of the new system was revived. The majority of the people refused to attend the assemblies and elections, agreeably to the requisition that had been issued. The inhabitants of Brussels, in the assembly in which they chose the warmest adherents of the former States as their representatives, declared that they wanted no constitution but their old one; no equality, no new laws; and caused a protest to be delivered in Paris against the decree of the 15th of December.

Several members of the Convention were, in consequence, sent to Brussels, to prevail upon the Belgians to accept the proffered benefits. They fulfilled their mission; they gained the lower classes by the means most effective with the populace, allured others by promises, or terrified them by threats. The result was a petition from the Belgians for a union with France. The Convention at first complied with it as far as regarded West Flanders and Hainault. The sans-culottes, who, at the instigation of the Jacobins, had formed a legion, celebrated this union at Brussels by rejoicings, at which, accompanied by French soldiers, they marched with cannon through the streets, and destroyed all the coats of arms, busts, and statues. A great number of first-rate productions of art were thus annihilated; invaluable paintings of the Flemish school were cut in pieces or burned; Jacobin caps were placed on the figures of the Virgin, and under the crucifixes were inscribed the words: "*Jesus Christ, ci-devant notre Seigneur.*"

In the beginning of 1793, Dumouriez went to Paris, for the purpose of trying to save the King, and to concert with some of the Orleanists and Girondists the means of restoring a constitutional monarchy, not in favour of the contemptible Egalité, but of his son, the Duke of Chartres, who was serving in the army under him with great distinction. He intended, at the same time, to make remonstrances in behalf of the Belgians.

Instead of accomplishing his object, Dumouriez received orders to conquer Holland, to conduct back to that country the patriots expelled in 1787, to overthrow the authority of the Stadtholder, and to establish a republican government in its stead. Alarmed and mortified by the indifference with which he was treated by the Convention and the Parisians, he returned to execute this commission, though well aware of its difficulty, hoping, in the tempest of events, to retrieve his waning glory by new successes. In the middle of February, when he supposed the allies to be enjoying the usual repose of winter-quarters, he marched from Antwerp for the Dutch frontiers, sending before him a proclamation, offering to the Batavian people liberation from their tyrants, together with the friendship and fraternity of the French nation: at the same time he threatened to treat all those as criminals, who should attempt to defend the country by opening the sluices, and laying it under water. This threat, utterly at variance with the law of nations, and first pronounced in modern Europe by a champion of liberty, who pretended to take the field in behalf of the rights of the people, did not deter the governor of Breda from inundating the environs of his fortress; but, after a short and innocuous bombardment, fear of the severe treatment with which he was menaced by the aid-de-camp of the French general, gained such an ascendency over his mind, accustomed only to the old routine of war, that he surrendered the place, with two hundred pieces of heavy cannon and stores of ammunition, on being allowed free egress. This event happened on the 25th of February, 1793, and, a few days afterwards, Klundert and Gertruydenburg were in the hands of the French.

Miranda, a Spanish American, who had entered the French service, marched to Maestricht, and threatened to cut in pieces the commandant and garrison, if they did not immediately submit; and to execute the

magistrates and citizens, unless they took arms against the garrison; but Maestricht was bravely defended by French emigrants, who had no mercy to expect. Meanwhile, a long decree, prescribing the manner in which Holland was to be provisionally governed, was passed by the Convention on the 2nd of March; and, on the 9th, Dumouriez was about to cross the Moordyk, with the intention of pushing on to Dordrecht, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, when disasters which befel the army left behind in Belgium suddenly stopped his progress.

The Austrians stationed on the Lower Rhine, under the supreme command of the Prince of Coburg, and headed by the young and gallant Archduke Charles, who here made his first essay in arms, had, on the 1st of March, attacked the French in their entrenchments on the Roer, pursued them to Liege, made themselves masters of that city, taking Aix, and raised the siege of Maestricht. At the same time, a Prussian corps, under duke Frederick of Brunswick-Oels, reduced the fortresses of Ruremonde and St. Michel, and threatened the rear of the French general. But it was, more especially, orders from Paris that obliged him to desist from the enterprise against Holland, and to repair in person to the beaten army in Belgium. He ascribed all the mischief to the oppressions by which the Convention had exasperated the Belgians, deprived him of the assistance which they would voluntarily have afforded, and even urged them to arm against his soldiers. In his vexation, and in hopes to pacify the incensed people, he had recourse to measures which could not fail to make mortal enemies of the Jacobins. He ordered several Jacobin agents and commissioners, who had been guilty of gross oppression, to be apprehended; he broke up the legion of the sans-culottes, at Brussels, and sent their leader to prison; he begged the town-council not to charge the misconduct

of unprincipled individuals, whom he would punish, to the account of the French nation; he ordered the release of the hostages given by the city; he forbade the Jacobin club to interfere in public affairs, and caused the silver plate, demanded by the deputies of the Convention, to be restored to the churches and convents. The deputies, Camus and Treilhard, who remonstrated to no purpose against this independent mode of proceeding, transmitted complaints to Paris; but they could not represent the general in a worse light than he did himself, in a letter addressed to the Convention, in which he expatiated on the tyranny and worthlessness of those whom the dominant faction made its favourite servants and tools. When he communicated to the deputies this declaration of war against the Jacobins, a violent altercation ensued. In their report to the Convention, they related that, when they reproached him with striving to make himself a Cæsar, the general replied, clapping his hand to his sword, that "he would defend himself, if he were attacked;" upon which Camus held a pistol to his breast, declaring that "Cæsar should find in him a Brutus."

Such a scene was likely enough to bring upon him a decree of accusation; but Dumouriez already had it in contemplation to render himself formidable to accusers and judges. Long disgusted with the mad game of liberty, in which he had not joined from any real fondness for it, and which, indeed, must have been doubly repulsive to an old military commander strongly disposed to vanity, he meditated a more creditable and brilliant part. His connexion with the Orleans party, and the distinction which the eldest son of the duke had acquired in his army, were the remote points to which he attached his calculations; the next requisite, in his opinion, was to make sure of his army, and the best medium of obtaining this object a brilliant victory.

Crowned with fresh glory, and adored, as he imagined, by the soldiers, he conceived that he could accomplish that which had miscarried only from being undertaken by mediocrity, and make himself, by the overthrow of the Jacobins, the restorer of the constitution and the saviour of France. He already beheld a king of the Orleans family on the throne, and himself, as constable, at his side. Fortune seemed to smile, and he resolved not to lose her favour through delay. Having dislodged the Austrians from Tirlemont, on the 16th of March, he hastened to attack them on the 18th, with a superior force—45,000 to 30,000—in their strong position near Neerwinden. After an obstinately contested battle, he was defeated with the loss of 2,500 killed and wounded, and 1,500 prisoners, while that of the Austrians amounted to 2,000. Such was the state of disorganisation in which this reverse left the French army, that, had the imperial commander followed up his victory, it must have been undone. So unsoldierlike was the spirit of the republican troops, when not spurred on by victory and booty, that, after a retreat of a few days, Dumouriez saw his army on the point of disbanding. In order to detain the Austrians, he solicited an interview with Colonel Mack, the soul of the Austrian staff, the result of which was, an agreement that the French should retreat unmolested to Brussels, and evacuate that city without opposition. The entry of the Austrians took place on the 25th of March, amidst the rejoicings of the inhabitants; and, in the succeeding days, they regained possession of Namur, Antwerp, and Mons.

Dumouriez knew what a beaten general had to expect from the rulers whom he had affronted. The arrival of three Jacobin commissioners sent by Le Brun, the minister, caused him to hasten his measures. In a second

interview which he had with Mack at Ath, he communicated to that officer his plan for overthrowing the Convention and the Jacobins by means of the army; he solicited the co-operation of the Austrians, and obtained a verbal promise that he should not be attacked beyond the French frontiers, and be supported in his march to Paris by auxiliaries, if he desired them. As a security to the Austrians, the fortress of Condé was to be put into their hands till the conclusion of peace.

On the day after this interview with Mack, Dumouriez had another at Tournay with the Paris commissioners, in which his natural impetuosity of temper and excited indignation caused him to divulge his whole secret to those spies. He abused the Convention, which he called a band of 747 regicide tyrants, whom he hated as much as he despised them. "There was no hope," he said, "of peace for France before that infamous assembly was dispersed; and, as long as he had four inches of steel at his side, he would not suffer them and their execrable revolutionary tribunal to continue their abominations." Heated by insidious replies, he further declared that "the whole republic was but an empty name. He had believed in it but for three days, and, since the battle of Jemappes, he had deplored all the successes which he had gained for so vile a cause, being convinced that the country could be saved only by the re-establishment of the constitution of 1791 with a king." When it was remarked that the French would not endure a king, as the name of Louis excited their abhorrence, he rejoined, "It is of no consequence whether his name is Louis or James." The significant question whether it might not as well be Philip brought him, for a moment, to his recollection, and he disclaimed the intention of labouring in behalf of the house of Orleans.

Conceiving, after further conversation, that he had

gained his interrogators, he entered into explanations, which left no doubt of his designs. He frankly declared that he meant to march to Paris to set up a king, whom France must have, even though all the prisoners in the Temple should be previously put to death. He described the way in which he should reduce the capital by famine; nay, he scarcely concealed his understanding with the enemy. To the inconceivable indiscretion of these disclosures he added the further imprudence of suffering the emissaries to return quietly to Paris.

The deputies of the Convention in Lille immediately took measures for securing the frontier fortresses against the designs of the general; and, on the 31st of March, the Convention passed a decree for summoning him to the bar, and sent five deputies, together with Beurnonville, the minister of war, with unlimited powers, to the army. They arrived, on the second of April, in his head-quarters at St. Amand, just after his plan for gaining possession of the three fortresses of Lille, Valenciennes, and Condé, had miscarried. The officers whom he had sent to the first two places had been seized by the commandants; and he lost Condé, to which he might have transferred his head-quarters, because he was apprehensive lest, shut up in a fortress, he might be delivered to his enemies, or murdered by his own soldiers. Self-confidence and decision, the grand requisites for success in great enterprises, had forsaken the new Cæsar. Instead of profiting by the yet favourable disposition of the army, and leading it forthwith to Paris, he left it dispersed in small camps and cantonments, exposed to the influence of Jacobin emissaries.

The deputies Camus, Quinette, Bancal, and Lamarque, accompanied by Beurnonville, arrived, on the 1st of April, at St. Amand, and were received by Dumouriez

in the midst of his staff. They read to him the decree of the Convention, commanding his immediate attendance at their bar. "I declare to you, once for all," he replied, "that I will not obey this decree: I will not go to Paris to deliver myself up to the sanguinary rage of the Jacobins and to be condemned by the revolutionary tribunal." — "But you know nothing of that tribunal," objected Camus.—"I know it to be a tribunal that is itself stained with blood and crimes," rejoined the general; "and, while I have in my hands a single inch of steel, I will not submit to it. I even declare that, if I had the power, I would immediately dissolve it, for it is a disgrace to a free people." One of the deputies observed that his disobedience would bring ruin on the republic. Dumouriez insisted that there was no such thing as a republic, and that France was in a state of complete anarchy. He promised, on his honour, that, as soon as the nation should have a form of government and laws, he would account for his conduct, adding that it would be the highest degree of insanity to think of doing so then.

Finding, after considerable altercation, that he would not submit to the order of the Convention, the commissioners declared him removed from his command. Loud murmurs arose from the officers present. "'Tis high time," said Dumouriez, in German, "to put an end to the business. Come in, hussars." Twenty-five hussars, belonging to a German regiment, entered and surrounded the commissioners, whom he sent off to the Austrian general Clairfait as hostages for the safety of the royal family in Paris. Beurnonville shared this unexpected fate with the four deputies. Carnot, who had been nominated as a fifth, was detained at Douai, and thus escaped the lot of his colleagues—a circumstance of no small importance, from the distinguished services

which he rendered, a few months afterwards, in the defence of the republic.

Dumouriez then addressed proclamations to the nation and the army, in which he represented himself as a foe to the tyrants ruling in Paris, as the champion of liberty, and as the restorer of the constitution. The enemy, he declared, had generously promised not to cross the frontiers, but to leave the brave army to put an end to the internal dissensions. He rode through the camp, and strove to inflame the zeal of the troops for their old commander and for the cause which he had espoused. He was greeted with demonstrations of applause, and for three days he reckoned upon the success of his plan. The Jacobins, however, were meanwhile counteracting his influence by distributing money, or rather paper, and by persuasions, for which his avowed correspondence with the Austrians gained a ready belief. It was no difficult matter to make the man who, on his sole authority, had entered into negociation with the enemy, and delivered the representatives of the nation into their hands, appear as a traitor to his country.

On the 4th of April, he received intelligence that the troops in Condé were split into parties for and against him. He instantly resolved to make amends for former neglect, and, by his sudden appearance in the fortress, to gain the ascendency for his party. Ordering some cavalry regiments on which he could rely to follow, he hastened forward with about thirty attendants and hussars. He overtook by the way three battalions of volunteers, marching, but not by his orders, upon Condé. These returned ambiguous answers to his questions; their looks appeared still more suspicious. Having passed them, he soon afterwards met an aid-de-camp, bringing unfavourable accounts of the state of his party

in Condé. Stopping to write an order, he heard shouts of "Halt!" and firing of musquetry. The suspicious battalions were pursuing him. He retreated, with his escort, to a ditch, bordering a swampy piece of ground, and, his horse refusing to leap it, he was obliged to wade through, under an incessant fire from the battalions. Several of his escort fell, and his secretary was taken, and soon afterwards executed. Dumouriez himself escaped on foot to the Austrian camp.

Here, in conjunction with Colonel Mack, he drew up a proclamation, in which the prince of Coburg promised the French nation to co-operate in the restoration of the constitutional monarchy projected by their general, and, in the name of the allied powers, renounced all conquests for interested objects. He then proceeded, with fifty Austrian dragoons, to the camp at Maulde. Still continuing to deceive himself in regard to the disposition of the troops, he was about to return to St. Amand, when word was brought that the artillery had driven away their commander, and were preparing to set out with their guns for Valenciennes. Influenced by their example, the rest of the troops were in commotion. It spread to the camps of Bruille and Maulde. One corps broke up after another. The military chest, containing two million, was conveyed by a division of chasseurs to Valenciennes. The orders of the general were disregarded; and he owed his personal safety entirely to the old attachment of the troops, and to the fidelity of part of the cavalry, especially of the Berchiny regiment of hussars, which accompanied him when at last he found it expedient to go over to the Austrians, with the young duke of Chartres, generals Valence and Montjoie, the two brothers Thouvenot, and some other officers of his staff. He was also accompanied by Madame de Genlis

and the daughter of the duke of Orleans, who had both been, for some time, at his head-quarters, and two martial sisters named Fernig.*

A commander of genius would not have let slip the fortunate moment for attacking and annihilating the French army when in a state of disorder bordering on dissolution: the prince of Coburg, on the contrary, deemed himself bound by the armistice, which, however, had been concluded with Dumouriez alone, and according to the secret articles of which that general had a right to support from him. Instead of affording it, the prince suffered the army which Dumouriez had commanded to unite quietly with the troops under general Dampierre in the camp at Famars; while he himself repaired to Antwerp, where the ministers of England, Holland, Austria, and Prussia, had assembled to consult upon the magnitude of the corps, which each of those powers was to send to the Netherlands. This congress, which was attended by the stadtholder and the duke of York, disapproved the proclamation signed at Mons on the 5th of April by the prince of Coburg, because either the acknowledgment of the constitution pronounced in it, or the renunciation of all conquests displeased the diplomatists. They, therefore, prevailed on the prince for-

* These were the daughters of a registrar residing at Montagne, who had formerly been a quarter-master of hussars; they joined Dumouriez in the camp at Maulde, and acted as his aides-de-camp. The general encouraged their ardour, and frequently mentioned them in his reports with such commendation as to interest the public and to please the Convention, which gave them a house. They accompanied Dumouriez from Maulde into Champagne, and afterwards into the Netherlands; and they were present at the apprehension of the commissioners. The elder was twenty-two, the younger seventeen years old: both were small, delicate, well educated, modest. Their predilection for a military life was unattended by any coarseness of demeanour, and their chastity unimpeached. They were included in the decree of outlawry issued against the general.

mally to recall it in a second proclamation of the 9th of April, in which he declared the first to be merely the expression of his private wishes, the impracticability of which had been sufficiently demonstrated by subsequent events. On this circumstance was founded the opinion afterwards propagated, that at this congress had been adopted the principle to demand from France indemnities for the past and securities for the future.

Dumouriez, for the seizure of whom the Convention offered a reward of 300,000 livres, repaired first to Brussels, and afterwards to Cologne. Being refused an asylum there, he removed to Switzerland, visited England, where he was not allowed to remain, and, after leading an unsettled life for some years, fixed his abode in the Danish dominions, near Hamburg. There he published his Memoirs, and various other works on the politics of the time. The last twenty years of his life were passed in England, where the Government granted him a pension of £1200, and he died in 1823 in the neighbourhood of London, at the advanced age of 84.

Dampierre was appointed to succeed Dumouriez in the command of the army on the Belgian frontier. Coburg continued inactive till the 9th of April, either because he held it to be his duty to observe the armistice concluded with Dumouriez, or because he waited to see what turn things would take in the French army. Through this respite, that army escaped the danger of being completely broken up. Its situation, however, was still critical. With about 22,000 men, Dampierre had to keep in check a force thrice as numerous. He distributed them in the fortified camps of Famars, Cassel, Madeline, and Maubeuge, and subsequently under the guns of Bouchain, on the spot where Cæsar is believed to have once encamped. Here his little disorganized army recovered confidence and firmness.

The enemy's whole line, 80,000 strong, crossed the French frontier. English, Dutch, and Hanoverians threatened Dunkirk; Austrians and troops of the empire, Condé, Valenciennes, and Maubeuge. Dampierre could not prevent the investment of the former, and gallantly exerted himself to cover the two latter. On the 8th of May, in a severe action near Raismes, he gave his soldiers an example of heroic intrepidity: mortally wounded, he expired a few days afterwards in Cæsar's camp, to which the army retired.

Custine was summoned from the army in Germany to supply the place of Dampierre. He came with a heavy heart, aware of his inability to execute the task imposed on him. He solicited permission to resign, but to no purpose. To cover Valenciennes, he posted himself in the entrenched camp of Famars; but, after a bloody engagement of two days, on the 23rd and 24th of May, was obliged to abandon his position. Had the Austrian general known how to follow up his advantages, he might, at least, have closely pursued the French army, and dispersed it in the fortresses, if not have marched at once, by way of Guise, to Paris. Instead of this course, he adopted a spiritless plan of operations formed by Mack, limiting the fruit of his victories to a regular siege of Valenciennes, which was undertaken by the duke of York, and gave the French time to collect new means of defence.

According to the express orders of the Committee of Welfare, Custine was to relieve Condé and Valenciennes at all risks; but, his army being in the worst condition, and chiefly composed of very young recruits, whom he was unwilling to lead to certain slaughter, he turned his camp into a school for training them to face foes in the highest state of discipline. Unable to maintain his own lines, he made no attempt to relieve the fortresses. York

furiously bombarded Valenciennes; Condé, reduced to extremity by famine, fell on the 10th of July, and on the 15th Custine was summoned to Paris, arrested, and brought to trial. Meanwhile, the Convention had decreed that peace should not be made with any enemy so long as he was upon French ground. "Have you made a treaty with victory?" asked Mercier, in opposing this motion. "We have made a treaty with Death," replied Bazire.

Houchard was now required to take the command of the northern army. Valenciennes was past relief: after a breach was effected, the commandant yielded to the urgent remonstrances of the citizens, and capitulated on the 28th of July. The allies then crossed the Scheld: Coburg encamped before Maubeuge, Clairfait before Quesnoy, York before Dunkirk, while part of the army pushed on towards Cambray. The French retired behind the Scarpe, the last tenable point on the route to Paris.

The surrender of Valenciennes, which soon followed the removal of Custine from the army, set the seal to his guilt in the eyes of those who had called him from his post. On charges of having, when at the head of the army of the Rhine, kept up an understanding with the Prussians, and, as general of the army of the North, not duly supported Valenciennes, he was condemned to death by the revolutionary judges on the 27th of August. The first accusation was utterly false; on the second, had the general actually committed a fault, the severest despot that ever reigned would have punished him, at the utmost, with dismissal. The nine republican tyrants, unmoved by his calm defence, and by the favourable testimony of competent witnesses, sent him, on the vague gossip of commissaries, young officers, surgeons, and spies, to the scaffold, whither his son was doomed to follow him in a few months, at the age of twenty-five.

Such was the end of Custine, who commenced his military career in America, and afterwards, offended with the court for refusing him promotion, had been one of the foremost, as a deputy of the noblesse in the first National Assembly, to desert and calumniate the old government. In him the new one punished its deliverer; for that army, which he had preserved for the republic at the expense of his head, formed in the sequel the nucleus of the great levy by which the Austrians were repelled.

While the fall of Condé and Valenciennes seemed to open to the allies a way from the Netherlands into the interior of France, Fortune favoured them on the Rhine. In the middle of March, the Prussians, Saxons, and Hessians broke up for the siege of Mentz. Here, during the winter, Custine, the deputies Merlin of Thionville, Rewbel, and Hausmann, together with the Jacobins of the city, had carried things their own way. They had proclaimed liberty and equality on the left bank of the Rhine, and illustrated these principles by violent measures against persons and property. The Jacobin club in Mentz declared that city and the surrounding districts to be a federal republic, united with the French, and sent George Forster, Adam Luchs, and Potocki as deputies to Paris.

Custine had meanwhile considerably strengthened the fortifications. The garrison amounted to about 22,000 men. Leaving Mentz in March, he posted himself, with about 40,000 men, in the environs of Bingen. Merlin and Rewbel remained in the city: d'Oyré and Dubayet had the command of the fortress and the troops, among whom colonels Kleber and Desaix were distinguished officers. The allies crossed the Rhine, drove back Custine's army from its position upon Landau, and operated with such success that, on the 14th of April, Mentz was

completely invested. The defence of the garrison was particularly distinguished by bold sorties, in which Merlin bore a part. In vain Beauharnais, who had succeeded Custine in the command of the army of the Rhine, and Houchard, at the head of the army of the Moselle, attempted to raise the siege: these failures, together with want of provisions and medicines, induced the deputies of the Convention to assent to a capitulation, which was concluded on the 22nd of July. The garrison, still amounting to 17,000, was allowed to march out with arms and baggage, upon condition of not serving for one year against the allies. Those brave troops were mortified and indignant at this surrender, influenced, it was believed, by Merlin and Rewbel on account of their personal safety; and those deputies afterwards screened d'Oyré and the other military officers from the charges preferred against them.

Beauharnais alone, who, as having formerly belonged to the noblesse, was doubly suspicious, fell a victim to a tribunal that discovered traitors everywhere, and was intent on finding guilty persons, in order by the fear of death to compel the commanders of the armies to conquer. Being accused of having advanced too late to the relief of Mentz, he was summoned to Paris, at first acquitted by the revolutionary tribunal, but detained in prison, and in the following year (on the 23rd of July, 1794) sent to the scaffold, on account of an alleged participation in a conspiracy of the prisoners, five days only before the fall of Robespierre would have brought him deliverance.

The members of the Jacobin club of Mentz, who had not withdrawn in time, were roughly handled by the incensed populace as the authors of all the hardships which they had endured, and were only protected by the Prussians to repent bitterly of their folly in a rigorous captivity.

After the surrender of the fortress, the allies marched for Landau. The army of the Moselle was driven back into the Vosges; the blockade of Landau commenced on the 10th of August, and Wurmser directed his operations against the lines of the Lauter.

At the Alps, the French were confined to defence, and when Kellermann was obliged to march for Lyons, the Piedmontese were enabled to recover Savoy. In the Barbets, a kind of irregular troops formed in the dominions of Sardinia, the French had mischievous enemies, who ventured to the very gates of Nice, and by surprising convoys and small detachments occasioned considerable losses.

On the side of the Pyrenees, the French force was small, and the army destitute of everything. Spain had equipped two not very numerous armies: Don Ventura Caro conducted the one against the lines of the Bidassoa; Ricardos, an able general, the other upon Roussillon. The first won a victory, on the 22nd of June, at the Bidassoa, but did not pass the French frontier. The French army of the Western Pyrenees, commanded by Servan, occupied an entrenched camp near Bayonne; and on the 24th of June, the Spanish army of the Eastern Pyrenees marched from Bellegarde, and advanced to lay siege to Perpignan.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FALL OF THE GIRONDISTS.

As soon as the Convention was apprized of the defection of Dumouriez, it not only outlawed that general and set a price upon his head, but decreed the penalty of death against every officer and soldier who should obey

his orders. The voluntary obedience of the army, and the tardiness with which the allies followed up their military success, soon allowed the party-leaders to continue their war for the supreme rule over France in the bosom of the Convention: and the attempt made against the tyranny of the Mountain turned out to be the means of establishing it the more firmly by the overthrow of its rivals, the Orleanists and the Girondists. In the very first discussions on this subject, Robespierre adroitly preferred a charge against the Girondists, and particularly Brissot, of being accomplices of Dumouriez's. The latter strove on their part to direct the storm upon Orleans and his adherents and protectors: and these again endeavoured to prove their pure love of liberty by furious outcries against traitors, and by proposing the wildest measures—that all sans-culottes should be armed with pikes and muskets at the expense of the wealthy classes, as a life-guard for the Convention; and the price of bread reduced to a certain fixed standard throughout all France.

Everything portended that a conflict for life and death was about to commence. The Girondists were apprised of the daily increasing pretensions of the municipality of Paris; they learned that a committee for exciting popular insurrections, in concert with the municipality, held its meetings in the episcopal palace, and sought by all sorts of means to dispose the people in favour of the designs of the Mountain. The Girondists had still the executive council at their disposal, and a majority of the Convention on their side; they had it still in their power to appoint a competent minister of war on whom they could rely, to transfer to the executive council the nomination of the officers of the National Guard, and to raise seven or eight battalions of volunteers, provided with a sufficient artillery, in order to

seize the triumvirs as well as the leaders of the committee of insurrection, and to bring them before the Convention for trial. Instead of adopting such energetic measures as these, they made pompous speeches, instigated threatening addresses against the Jacobins, which furnished the latter with pretexts for resistance, and sought support in the laws against men who scrupled not, pike in hand, to enforce the enactment of new and the abolition of old laws, according as it suited their party-purposes. Through a singular retribution, the Girondists fell into the same error as the unfortunate Louis had done in regard to them, and of which they had dexterously taken advantage to effect his ruin.

As it was evidently impossible that such a many-headed assembly as the Convention could itself govern and steer the State through the dangers which threatened, and it seemed a gross contradiction to leave the executive authority in the hands of the ministers who had seats in the executive council, a Committee of Welfare was instituted on the 6th of April, at the instigation of Marat and Danton, which, invested with dictatorial power, should, at its own discretion and without needing the previous consent of the assembly, order and carry into execution whatever the welfare of the whole demanded. This was the dictator for whose appointment Marat had so often clamoured. The Girondists ought at any price to have secured a majority in this committee; but, with incomprehensible apathy, they suffered themselves to be excluded, and the nine members composing it to be chosen out of the ranks of their adversaries. These were Danton, Barrère, Delmas, Lacroix, Robert Lindet, Treilhard, Breard, Cambon, and Guyton Morveau, all belonging to the Mountain. Robespierre preferred to keep behind the scenes and to assist in directing the movements; for the victory was not yet decided: the Gironde was still

protected against the power of the dictatorship by the inviolability with which the representatives of the nation were invested in the time of the Constituent Assembly, and which had ever since been considered as their essential characteristic. This defence also they allowed to be wrested from them almost without opposition. To shew that they had no reason to be afraid of laws and judges, and hoping to get the more easily at their adversaries, steeped in crime, they assented on the 8th of April to a decree, which several of the sections under the sway of the Jacobins had demanded, and by which even members of the Convention might be brought before the revolutionary tribunal for offences committed against the nation.

In fact, the Girondists were the first to take advantage of this law, in order to revenge themselves on their opponents by the total ruin of Orleans. On the very first arrival of the news that his son had accompanied Dumouriez in his flight, he and his familiar friend Sillery, the husband of Madame de Genlis, were reproached in the Convention with being accessory to the alleged conspiracy; upon which Orleans, apostrophising the statue of the elder Brutus, declared that if his son was guilty, he should be ready to imitate that Roman and to sacrifice him with his own hand. Brief was the reprieve which he thereby purchased. On the same day that the above mentioned decree was passed, Lahaye accused him upon fresh information concerning his connexion with Dumouriez. The Gironde hoped by this course to bring into trouble his old patrons, Marat and Danton, and perhaps Robespierre also; but the two former beheld with indifference the fall of their now impoverished protégé; and Robespierre, by eagerly supporting the accusation, at once parried the thrust aimed at him, and gratified his old grudge, which he could never wholly conceal, against

a descendant of the Bourbons. Thus the Convention unanimously declared Philip Egalité as suspicious and dangerous to the republic. He was present at this sitting, absorbed in profound thought, and paid no attention to the representations of some of his associates, who would have persuaded him, in order to preserve his liberty and life, to move his own banishment: but he only reminded them of the respect due to him as one of the representatives of the people. At the moment when the guard came on the following day to conduct him from his palace to the prison of the Abbaye, he was engaged in selling part of his linen to raise a little money. Agreeably to a decree of the Convention on the 11th of April, he, with his two younger sons, who had remained in France, was sent to Marseilles.

The arms of the triumvirate were next turned against the well-meaning but inconsistent authors and coadjutors of the Revolution—the Girondists. This party, which, with inconceivable infatuation, had suffered itself to be disarmed, conceived that it was still the stronger, from the talents of its members, from its majority in the assembly, and from the attachment of the nation; while the Mountain, by accusing it of a design to convert France into a confederation of several petty republics, had alienated from it the good-will of the capital, which, for the sake of its own interest, was extremely jealous of the unity and indivisibility of the Republic. The blame of the war, which just at this time was not propitious, was moreover thrown upon the Girondists, who had wrung the declaration of it from the king; and Robespierre was incessantly repeating that they had accelerated the rupture solely to deliver up the Republic in a defenceless state to the enemy; that the nation, it was true, had frustrated this traitorous design, but its authors deserved none the less for that to feel the sword of ven-

geance. The Girondists, on their part, were incessantly reproaching the Mountaineers with the September massacres and other horrors of anarchy, and charging them with a criminal design to fetter the freedom of the national representation by means of the populace of Paris, and to secure to the municipality of that city the supreme authority over all France.

In these mutual recriminations, the Mountain espoused the cause of the Parisians, which could not fail to render them more favourable to that party than to its accusers. But it was still more to the advantage of the Mountaineers that they felt not the least scruple or concern about inconsistencies in their words and in their deeds, in their hopes and in the effects resulting from them, but found themselves quite in their element in the state of general anarchy and tyranny which the Revolution had produced. The philosophic statesmen, on the contrary, who laboured with prudence and moderation to erect a durable fabric on the foundation of an absolutely untenable theory, incompatible with the nature of things and of the human heart, were grievously disappointed in their hopes of the reign of universal liberty and happiness. The assembly representing the nation, which, according to their notions, must be a far more competent and dignified manager of the supreme authority than any emperor or king, presented the disgraceful spectacle of a furious mob, heated by moral and physical privations, whose parties not only loaded each other with the most vulgar abuse, but, amidst the clamour and the active participation also of the galleries, assailed each other at first with their fists, and by and by with swords and pistols.

On the 10th of May, the Convention exchanged its former place of meeting for a hall prepared for the purpose in the Tuileries, which was now named the national palace.

In the arrangement of this place, care had been taken to avoid the local circumstances that tended to produce those squabbles between the members which had disgraced the other. The hall was an oblong square, and the seats for the members were all on one side of it; that the parties might not be opposite to one another, and have opportunity to give mutual provocation by looks and gestures. The galleries were at a much greater distance from the assembly, and at such a height that the auditors could not leap down, as they had formerly done, and abuse or even drive out of the hall those members whose opinions they disapproved. In spite of all precautions, such was the daily increasing animosity, that this new place of meeting resembled a theatre, where two parties of combatants fought with the greatest fury, in the presence of numerous spectators, and amidst varying shouts of applause or anger.

The unconditional right of liberty of thought, of speech, and of the press, the limitation of which was accounted by the new theory as so black a crime, in the old government, and on the restoration of which it had prided itself so much, was, it is true, formally enacted by a decree, but, on the same day that this took place, a woman was beheaded almost in sight of the assembly, because, in a state of intoxication, she had uttered expressions in favour of royalty, and was condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, agreeably to a law which forbade expressions of that kind upon pain of death. Such was the commencement of the series of innumerable victims doomed, in the land of regenerated freedom, to expiate with their lives a word deviating from the predominant principles.

Free trade and the free use of property had been the watchword of the revolution, and, on the 3rd of May, the traffic in the most indispensable of necessaries was

trammelled with oppressive restrictions by the law relative to the maximum, or the highest price at which corn should be sold; and every possessor was forbidden the free use of his property in that commodity. All corn was placed under public superintendence; and no one could purchase flour, merely for household use, without an official permit. The promised diminution of imposts was fulfilled by the forced loan of one thousand million required from the rich; the vaunted humanity of the new legislation was turned into a mockery by the ordinance, that no person, upon pain of death, should remit money to emigrants; and every citizen was commanded, upon the same penalty, to secure and send to prison every returned emigrant he should meet with—of course the father the son, and the son the father—so that he might be executed in twenty-four hours. All this, however, was but the dawn of revolutionary liberty and equality, under the sway of self-elected rulers.

Some of these measures were approved by the Girondists also, as necessary for the preservation of the republic; others they opposed, but without success. At length, seizing a moment when a great number of the members of the Mountain had been sent as commissioners to the armies and into the provinces, they obtained a decree of accusation, and an order for the apprehension of Marat, who, in his speeches and his journal, was incessantly urging the expediency of investing a real friend of the people with the supreme authority, and putting to death all who entertained different sentiments. Marat laughed at the decree, and with the help of the Jacobins kept himself concealed for some days, till he was certain of being acquitted by the revolutionary tribunal. Surrounded by a crowd of the populace, he then surrendered himself, was declared innocent, and borne, decorated with a civic crown, upon

the shoulders of the exulting mob, amidst shouts of triumph, to the Convention, where he resumed his seat, with the assurance that he would continue to protect the people against their enemies.

This circumstance served to accelerate the final conflict of the parties. Deputies of one of the sections of Paris had the audacity to appear at the bar of the Convention, with a list of twenty-five Girondists, and to insist that they should be outlawed as traitors and conspirators; and the Girondists, who with the majority of votes had still the real authority of the government in their hands, were weak enough to suffer this insolence to pass unpunished. They were content with the spirited defiance offered by one of their party, the young and ardent Boyer-Fonfrede, who declared, that he thought it an affront not to be included in the list, on which, three-fourths of the assembly rose, exclaiming, "And all of us, all!" At length, when the Girondists were informed that the municipality had formed a plan for murdering the twenty-five proscribed members in the night, self-preservation urged them to the resolution, to dissolve the municipality forthwith, and to recommend to the Convention, in case it should be attacked in Paris, to re-assemble at Bourges. This resolution, however, appearing rather too violent, was abandoned, and a committee of twelve deputies was appointed to examine the papers of the municipality, and to adopt such measures of security as were expedient.

The inquiries of the committee confirmed the existence of the plan of murder and of conspiracy; upon which, on the 24th of May, Hebert, one of the most infamous members of the municipality, and, another incendiary, were apprehended by order of the Twelve, and sent to the Abbaye. This half measure—for it ought to have included Pache, the mayor, and the whole municipality

—enraged the Jacobins, without damping their hopes and their courage. One crowd of furious petitioners after another thronged to the hall of the Convention, demanding with threats and reproaches the release of Hebert, and the dissolution of the committee, who were designated by no other appellation than decemvirs. The same men who had thrown into prison and murdered thousands of innocent citizens now declared their abhorrence of illegal confinement; the same men, who had so often destroyed the presses belonging to the writers of the other parties, or attacked their persons, now raised a prodigious outcry about the violated liberty of the press; the same men, who a few days before had, at the bar of the Convention, demanded the heads of its most distinguished members, now called it a crime against the nation to apprehend a member of the municipality in the performance of his official functions. On this day—it was the 27th of May—Isnard occupied the president's chair. Indignant at the audacity of the Jacobin petitioners, he threw into his reply the full force of his eloquence. "If," said he, "you dare draw the sword against the representatives of the people, I declare to you, in the name of all France, that the nation will rise and take vengeance, that Paris will be annihilated, and the stranger will soon have to seek, on the banks of the Seine, the spot where Paris once stood." This address staggered the populace for a moment; the Girondists had, moreover, summoned the national guard to their protection, and, if a conflict had ensued, the victory would have been theirs. As soon as the Jacobins were aware of this, they sought to gain time by an evasion. Garat the minister, and afterwards, Pache the mayor, entered, and assured the assembly that the conspiracy was a mere fiction, that the mob was but an assemblage of well-disposed citizens, full of respect for the Convention, and

the national guard strong enough to prevent any disturbance.

It was ten o'clock before Isnard, whose presidency terminated that day, closed the sitting and left the chair: but it was immediately taken by Herault de Sechelles, a Jacobin, and the members kept their seats. By this circumstance, the aspect of things was totally changed. Isnard had repulsed the petitioners by the thunder of his eloquence: his successor received and encouraged them; he even allowed them to take their seat on the benches, among the members of the Convention. A Maratist moved that the demands of the people should be complied with, Hebert set at liberty, the Committee of Twelve dissolved, and its proceedings investigated. All the Jacobins immediately rose, together with the interlopers; the galleries raised a prodigious clamour, the rabble outside the doors yelled, those in the hall threatened the Girondists with daggers, swords, and pistols; numbers of the deputies were trying to make themselves heard at once; and, though the question was never put to the vote, the president at length declared, that the force of the people and the force of reason were one and the same; and that the assembly decreed the release of Hebert and the dissolution of the Committee of Twelve.

On the following day, the Girondists renewed the conflict. They declared the decree to be illegal, and had once more a majority in their favour. They had, nevertheless, the weakness to give way to the furious outcries of the Maratists, and, for the sake of peace, to agree to the liberation of Hebert: but the Committee of Twelve was to be retained. This compliance was a prelude to their total defeat, a presentiment of which they could no longer repress. After the evening session of the 30th of May, many of them durst not go to their own homes,

but concealed themselves in a sequestered house. That same night, the guard of the municipality went to the house of Roland, the ex-minister, for the purpose of apprehending him; but, as he had sought refuge elsewhere, they seized his wife, formerly a zealous promoter and still an eloquent advocate of the revolution, and conveyed her to prison.

The theory upon which the revolution appeared legitimate to its authors and promoters, now turned against themselves. As in the preceding year the representatives had, in the name of the people, but without their authority, hurled the king from the throne, so now the municipality maintained that, with the power it possessed the right to eject from their posts the representatives of the people who were obnoxious to it, who had not kept up with the current of the revolution, and whom it termed liberticides. The preparations for this object were made by the leaders of the Mountain, upon the plan of the 20th of June and the 10th of August. In the night of the 31st of May, the armed populace of the faubourgs entered the city; in the morning, the alarm-bells were rung, guns fired, and the generale beat to arms. The Convention assembled, and, having summoned the mayor to the bar, was informed by him, that the sections had in the night dismissed the municipality, but immediately reinstated it as a revolutionary municipality. Deputies arrived to communicate to the assembly that the people had risen for the third time, to frustrate the liberticide designs of their enemies, and, in the first place, to demand the abolition of the Committee of Twelve, and a decree of accusation against that committee, and twenty-two other members of the Convention; in the next, the daily pay of forty sous for every armed sans-culotte, the reduction of the price of bread to three sous, and the arrest of the ministers Clavière and Lebrun. The hall

was soon filled with the ragged train of these insolent addressers. Mallarmé, the president, granted them the honour of the sitting, and they immediately joined in the proceedings of the assembly.

The scene of the 20th of June was literally renewed against the Convention, which had erected its tribune on the spot then occupied by the throne; but there was this difference, that the weak king, amidst all insults, had made no concessions to the populace, while the haughty representatives of the people considered it as an advantage that they had not been obliged to grant anything more than the abrogation of the Twelve, pay for the sans-culottes, and the admission that the people had deserved well of the country. This pitiful farce lasted till ten at night. On the proposal of the president, the Convention went in solemn procession from the hall, to give the fraternal embrace to the populace without; and then, accompanied by the rabble, and joining in the Marsellaise, these complacent legislators took a patriotic walk with their sans-culotte brethren by torch-light in the garden of the Tuileries.

But the leaders of the Mountain had in view something more than a farce: they thirsted for the blood of their adversaries. Highly dissatisfied with the meagre results of the great day, they renewed the tumult on the morning of the 1st of June; and, at their instigation, a deputation of the municipality, accompanied by armed labouring men, required the Convention to place twenty-seven of their members, among whom were Petion, Vergniaud, Brissot, Lanjuinais, Louvet, Valazé, Rabaut St. Etienne, and Isnard, in a state of accusation. "They are traitors against the liberty of the people," said the spokesman, "and they must all bite the grass."—"All appellants," added Legendre, "who would have appealed to the people on the condemnation of the king, are

traitors and conspirators who deserve the same fate." The Girondists sat stupified, and gave up their cause for lost. Barrère advised them, with cruel irony, since they had lost the confidence of the people, to resign their posts as members of the Convention, and repair to La Vendée to fight the rebels there. All that they could obtain was a delay of three days, till the Committee of Welfare could report upon the accusation preferred against them by the municipality. But this indulgence was contrary to the intentions of the Mountain, which was desirous that its adversaries should be outlawed, and that at once, before the majority of the nation should awake from its stupor. It took measures, therefore, to bring the affair to an issue, on the following day, June 2nd. The most decisive of these was, that, after the departure of Santerre for La Vendée, the municipality gave the command of the armed populace and national guard of Paris to one of his assistants named Henriot, a participator in the September massacres. In this base and contemptible wretch, who had formerly been a footman, the Jacobins gained an equally useful and willing tool for crushing their adversaries. Five thousand armed banditti formed a sort of body-guard for himself and the municipality, which the national guard was obliged to join, without knowing why or wherefore, whenever the usual signals proclaimed the outbreak of an insurrection of the people.

On the 2nd of June, most of the Girondists, and even Brissot and Vergniaud, instead of attending the assembly, concealed themselves in retreats, partly opened to them by their enemies, not out of generosity, but because they knew that cowardice and flight lead to inevitable ruin. Seven only, among whom were Lanjuinais, Barbaroux, and Isnard, repaired undismayed to their posts. No sooner had the Convention met, at nine o'clock in the

morning, than the signals of insurrection, alarm-bells and guns, were heard. Henriot advanced, at the head of his paid band, to occupy the Tuileries and its outlets, and to keep the national guard at a due distance. The tumult in the assembly was tremendous. Lanjuinais, who spoke with energy against the insurgents, was seized by four Jacobins, and dragged from the tribune. Deputations of the municipality and the sections entered with drawn swords, and demanded the outlawry of the traitors. The galleries clamoured for their heads, and Henriot's satellites threatened every moment to storm the hall, if the enemies of the people were not immediately delivered up to them. Barrère rose, and again advised the Girondists, for the sake of the public welfare, to resign their functions, and to leap into the gulf, like Curtius, to save the country. Four of them were ready to agree to this proposal; but Barbaroux and Lanjuinais declared that they belonged to the whole Republic, not to a misled portion of the citizens, and would not resign. While the latter was speaking, one of the populace held a loaded pistol to his head. Lanjuinais shut his eyes, and firmly grasped the tribune, expecting nothing less than death: but, as the ruffian durst not consummate the crime, he coolly continued his speech, and concluded with the prophetic words: "I already behold the monster of the dictatorship, or tyranny, by whatever name it may be called, stalking among ruins and carcases, and devouring one of you after another."

These words made the deeper impression, because some members of the Mountain had been maltreated by the populace. That party seemed now to be divided. Lacroix, one of the most violent Maratists, complained of the acts of violence committed by the armed force, accused it of keeping the Convention in durance, and

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insisted that the head of its commander should be laid at their feet. This was opposed by the leaders of the party; they declared that the armed force was there solely to protect the representatives of the people; and, to prove that this was the case, Barrère proposed that the assembly should leave the hall in solemn procession, and continue its deliberations amidst the people. This idea was adopted, though disapproved by Robespierre, Danton, and Marat: again the impression of the moment proved more powerful than even party-spirit.

The president, Herault de Sechelles, set out, followed by a great number of the members. The procession advanced, between two files of the armed populace, as far as the gate leading from the court of the palace into the Place du Carrousel. Here was posted Henriot, with his aides-de-camp, surrounded by cavalry and artillery. He refused a passage to the procession, poured forth a volley of threats and abuse, and, when the president inquired the reason of this obstruction, he sneeringly replied, "Herault Sechelles, the people have risen, *en masse*, not to listen to thy fine phrases, but to give its sovereign commands. It is determined to have a sacrifice; it insists that the thirty-four criminals be delivered up." Boiling with indignation, the president ordered the soldiers, in the name of the law, to seize their leader as a rebel: they hesitated. Lacroix took a loaded pistol from his pocket, and presented it at Henriot. Backing his horse a few paces, the latter gave the word, "To arms!" and the Convention found itself, in a moment, surrounded with swords and bayonets, and the artillery pointed against it. The procession turned, abashed, to a second and a third outlet; it was not allowed to pass at either, and returned to the hall, amidst the most extraordinary medley of cheers and invectives.

The leading Mountaineers had not quitted the hall.

"The Convention," said Couthon, who was one of them, "has now convinced itself that it is perfectly free; it may, therefore, give orders for the apprehension of the outlawed members." He and Marat immediately dictated the list, containing the thirty-four names, amidst shouts of applause from the populace. The deputies comprehended in it were to be kept under guard in their own houses, till the Committee of Welfare had reported upon their guilt. When the president made known this resolution, two or three men in the gallery cried out that they were commissioned to assure the Convention, in the name of the people, that by this decree the country was saved. This remarkable sitting ended about ten at night. The Girondists were not allowed to leave the hall till permission had been obtained from the municipality, each escorted to his own home by a gendarme and two sans-culottes. Among them was the same Petion, who, but ten months before, had conducted the King from the National Assembly to the tower of the Temple.

Still the Girondists were far from anticipating the full extent of the designs of their adversaries. On a report that an amnesty was proposed for the arrested deputies, one of these, Valazé, wrote to the president that he rejected with horror any amnesty; and Vergniaud, in the like tone, urged the preparation of the report. As this report was delayed for some time, in the hope that the departments would rise in behalf of their representatives against the tyranny of the Parisians, several of them took advantage of the negligence or corruption of their guards to escape. The others, and those who were retaken and brought back—among the latter was Brissot—were formally committed to prison. The same fate was awarded to Philip Egalité, who was at Marseilles.

Those who escaped, twenty in number, repaired

partly to the southern, partly to the western departments, to rouse them to arm in defence of the national representation, so scandalously trampled upon by the Jacobins. The focus of the movement which they did effect was Caen, in the department of Calvados, in Normandy, where the deputies of eight departments assembled, and issued strong declarations. General Wimpfen, who had gained reputation by the defence of Lille, consented to put himself at the head of the military force. But the measures adopted proved inadequate; opinions were divided, and the proposal of the general to enter into negociations with England was rejected with abhorrence. It was at this point, therefore, that the Convention triumphed first, partly by arms, partly by promises. The fugitive Girondists, proclaimed traitors to the country by a decree of the 28th of July, were again forced to betake themselves to flight, and several of them fell into the hands of their persecutors, and shared the fate of their colleagues in Paris. Others, who escaped to the south, were not more fortunate, as their cause had no better success in that quarter. Petion wandered about, for a considerable time, on the banks of the Gironde. In July, 1794, he and Brissot were found dead in the plain near St. Emilion; it is uncertain whether they had perished of hunger or been murdered, for their bodies were half devoured by wild beasts.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WAR IN LA VENDEE.

While Europe was preparing to attack the Revolution with united force from without, a dangerous enemy to it sprang up in the bosom of France herself, in the insur-

rection raised by the inhabitants of La Vendée, and the neighbouring departments of the Deux Sevres, and the Vienne, which had been formed out of the ancient province of Poitou. This war was rendered particularly formidable by the nature of the country in which it broke out. On the west, La Vendée gradually declines to the sea. The coast is called the Marais, and eastward of it is situated the Bocage, comprehending seven-ninths of the department: that of Deux Sevres has likewise its Bocage; and the-low lands extending from this double Bocage to the Loire were called the Pays de Mauges, or Loroux.

The Bocage of La Vendée was the real focus of the war. The ground here was studded with trees and coppices; deep ravines intersect the country, alternating with hills, but none of them high enough to command a distant view. The whole was like one vast labyrinth. With a population of 360,000 souls, La Vendée had but few and insignificant towns: Fontenay, the capital, contained no more than 7,000 inhabitants. Villages too were rare. Chateaux of nobles, farms, and detached houses were scattered over the face of the country; and the feeling of isolation was heightened by the ditches, earth walls, and thick hedges, by which the fields were enclosed. The roads were execrable, chiefly hollow ways or raised dykes, in the wet season impassable, and in the best inconvenient. Only one high road ran through the country, from Nantes to La Rochelle. In the Marais, the innumerable ditches and canals were an impediment to the construction of roads, but not to the intercourse between the inhabitants, as the countryman was accustomed to leap across them with a pole. In this district trade and manufactures were almost unknown; the produce of the soil supplied the wants of the population, and, in the chateaux alone was there any demand

for the commodities of distant parts. The surrounding towns, Nantes, Angers, Saumur, Thouars, exercised but little influence on the material interests of the country, where the inhabitants were as indifferent to the luxuries and elegancies of life, as their roads were impracticable.

If these people, an innocent, industrious race of farmers and graziers, were strangers to the progress of civilization, and to the altered spirit of the times, they were also untainted by that corruption and discontent which had generated the revolution. The ancient patriarchal relations between the gentry and their tenants and dependents, which, in other places, under the iron rule of pride and selfishness, had produced nothing but hatred and defiance, were still marked here by kindness and consideration on the one part, and by attachment and fidelity on the other. In like manner, a reverence for the Church and its ministers, more profound and universal than was to be found in any other part of France, still prevailed among these simple people, cut off from the rest of the world. The clergy, attached to the ancient doctrines, but free from hierarchical pretensions, were respectable for their morals; their influence was great, and their word sacred to the countryman. Adherence to religious doctrines and customs was with him the grand duty of life; and to submit to new laws was, therefore, in his estimation, the same thing as to change his religion. The disposition of the common man of the Bocage was grave, tinctured with melancholy, and easily excited; with a good heart, he was suspicious and reserved, and inflexibly attached to his native soil, customs, and religion. Inheriting, both high and low, the strength and physical advantages of their ancestors, these, if roused into action by some powerful idea, could not fail to render them formidable to any foe who should

dare to disturb the simple tenor of their lives; while the nature of the country, with its ravines, hollow ways, trees, and impenetrable hedges, constituted a mighty bulwark for its defenders.

The first movements of discontent with the course of the revolution appeared after the enactment of the law of the National Assembly in November, 1790, requiring the clergy to take the civic oath. Throughout all La Vendée the public opinion was against such of them as complied: the churches where they officiated were deserted, while the people thronged in crowds to the nonjuring priests, who read mass in the open air. Disturbances took place in May, 1792, and again after the flight of the king; but the civil commissioners of the National Assembly, Gensonné and Gallois, succeeded, with the aid of General Dumouriez, in restoring tranquillity. Still dissatisfaction prevailed, and it was increased by the law for the transportation of nonjuring priests, the excessive issue of assignats, and the harsh conduct of the republican civil officers. The priests distributed tracts; and in August, 1792, a body of peasants proceeded to Chatillon on the Sevre, and burned the archives; but the insurrection was quelled by their defeat at Bressuire. A conspiracy of royalist nobles in Bretagne, at the head of which was the Marquis de la Rouarie, and which was totally suppressed in the beginning of 1793, does not appear to have had any ramifications in La Vendée.

In that country there was no open insurrection till recruits began to be levied, agreeably to the law of the 24th of February, 1793. The nonjuring priests forbade the young men to present themselves. On the 8th of March, the commune of Chauve, in western Vendée, took up arms for this reason; on the 10th, the peasants around Machecoul rose and killed the priests who had

taken the oath and the gendarmes; on the 11th, the peasants of Maulevrier refused to serve; and, on the 12th, the insurrection broke out in the Bocage. The first successes of the insurgents were stained in many places by the slaughter of prisoners; and the priests, who with the crucifix in their hands summoned the people to rise, took no pains to check these cruelties. The greater part of the population of the Bocage now flew to arms, and found able leaders in Cathelineau, a carrier, Stofflet, a gamekeeper, and d'Elbée and Bonchamps, country gentlemen, and formerly officers in the service of the king. The insurrection spread in the Marais; and there, on the 18th of March, Charette, who had been a lieutenant in the navy, was induced, at the solicitation of the peasants, to put himself at their head. The difference of ranks was forgotten, and, if a want of harmony was afterwards perceptible, this arose from personal jealousy among the leaders, and especially on the part of the obstinate Charette.

Cathelineau, with some thousands of followers, was the first to overpower the gendarmes and national guards. Similar enterprises in other places were everywhere crowned with success. On the 15th of March, Cathelineau and Stofflet made themselves masters of Cholet, where they found abundance of stores. The insurgents were deficient in arms: part of them only had fowling-pieces, others scythes and bludgeons; but the courage and impetuosity of the combatants, their skill as marksmen, and the nature of the country, made amends for the want of better weapons. The republicans, taken unawares, and mostly unpractised in the use of arms, suddenly attacked with appalling shouts, surrounded, cut off from all communication with one another, and unacquainted with the roads, soon left considérable stores of artillery and ammunition of all sorts

in the hands of the insurgents, glad to escape with their bare lives. The artillery, the pride of the revolutionary power, and with which the republican armies here were abundantly provided, could seldom be employed with effect, and still less the cavalry: in both these the republicans sustained at the very first severe losses.

By the end of March, the republicans retained possession of very few places. When they sought the enemy, he had disappeared: after an enterprise, the peasant returned to his agricultural labours; but, from the coppices and behind the hedges, a thousand eyes were spying an opportunity for attacking the "blues." On a signal given by the alarm-bell, or a bull's horn, thousands started forth, and assembled by secret ways: the republicans discovered with consternation that they were entrapped, and endeavoured in vain to penetrate into the ambuscade, from which a destructive fire was poured with unerring aim upon them; but, in a moment, they were fiercely attacked by masses impatient for the combat, and fled in dismay, leaving everything behind them.

The first leaders of La Vendée introduced a sort of military organization: the men of each parish were placed together, such of them as had fire-arms in front, while the others remained at some distance. After the taking of Saumur, a body of standing troops, called avengers of the crown, was formed for the Bocage, and among these the Swiss and Germans proved eminently serviceable. Charette attempted, but without success, to organize cavalry. Their mode of fighting was irregular, as the nature of the country required it to be: it was a guerilla warfare, not governed by the combinations of art, but by the inspiration of the moment, and in which women and boys rushed with the men upon the enemy. In the middle of April, the young and

intrepid Laroche-Jaquelin and his cousin Lescure began to distinguish themselves along with the above-mentioned leaders.

On the 19th of March, the Convention issued a decree by which all who obstructed the levying of recruits, or hoisted the white cockade, were declared to be outlawed. This measure was chiefly directed against La Vendée; but it was some time before effective steps could be taken to enforce it by arms. The republican troops were in a deplorable state, without order, without experience, without confidence. The volunteers sent from Paris brought with them more of a spirit of mutiny than of military courage. The officers were mostly ill chosen: the municipality influenced the appointments, and thus a Rossignol, a Santerre, and a Ronsin obtained commands. The commissioners of the Convention with the armies were vulgar, ignorant men, incessantly caballing against one another. Hence, for a time, the operations of the insurgents against the republicans were attended with almost uninterrupted success.

General Berruyer, a brave and tried officer, advanced from Angers with Parisian battalions. Leigonyer and Gauvilliers commanded under him. The former was totally defeated on the 19th of April, at Vezins; the latter on the 22nd, at Beaupréau. About the same time, Canclaux marched from Nantes with an army against the Marais; a detachment of this force pushed on to Machecoul; but the unfavourable tidings from the Bocage occasioned the speedy retreat of the republicans. The insurgents of the Bocage followed up their victories; 20,000 men, 6000 of whom were armed with muskets, marched with thirteen pieces of cannon, under Cathelineau, Stofflet, d'Elbée, and Bonchamps, to Thouars, and took it by storm on the 5th of May. Though defeated on the 16th, near Fontenay, by Chalbos,

who could not follow up his advantage, they attacked him on the 25th, near the same town, and, in spite of his forty pieces of cannon, and the seven deputies of the Convention who accompanied him, they totally routed and dispersed his army: 4000 prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. Cruelties had already been practised on several occasions: the insurgents had set the example by the execution of the prisoners at Machecoul; and Beysser had retaliated on his incursion into the Marais. The leaders of the Vendéans, however, were, with the exception of Charette, disposed to clemency: those 4000 prisoners were dismissed, upon swearing that they would not thenceforward serve against La Vendée. The Convention paid no regard to this engagement; on the 21st of June, these men were ordered, with the severest threats, to rejoin the army.

The insurgents continued to be victorious till the end of June. On the 7th, they defeated Leigonyer at Tremont, and on the 10th made themselves masters of Saumur, after an obstinate battle, in which general Menou commanded, and Santerre and his corps took part. More than thirty pieces of cannon fell into their hands. The republicans evacuated Angers without resistance: the operations of Charette had, meanwhile, been successful in the Marais, and he had cleared that whole district of the enemy.

The leaders now planned an attack with their united force upon Nantes, the possession of which could not fail to have a prodigious influence on the fate of the West of France. Cathelineau, chosen on the 12th of June, notwithstanding his low origin, commander in chief of the troops of the Bocage, now styled the great Catholic army, or the army of Anjou, led them from Angers along the right bank of the Loire, towards Nantes. The men of the Marais were to storm the

bridge over the Loire, near the city. The attack was made on the 29th of June, under the direction of Cathelineau. The city was defended by Canclaux, with 12,000 republicans. The men of the Marais, unable to make themselves masters of the bridge, were prevented from crossing the river to support Cathelineau, who, with his associates, fought most heroically, till he received a mortal wound. The assailants retreated. The insurrection was again circumscribed within its original limits; Fortune, however, had not yet entirely forsaken the arms of the Vendeans; but, though they afterwards won many a glorious victory, their subsequent battles bear the character rather of desperate defence than of the security and consciousness of superiority which had urged them beyond the bounds of their native districts. Cathelineau expired on the 1st of July, and in him the insurgents lost the ablest of their leaders.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MARAT.—CHARLOTTE CORDAY.—NEW CONSTITUTION.

While the Girondists who had fled to Caen were striving without apparent success to rouse the men of the nation to arm and to rescue liberty from the shameful yoke imposed upon it, a female of that city undertook, by a bold deed, to rid France of the monster of Jacobin tyranny dwelling in Paris. Charlotte Corday, the daughter of a gentleman of fortune, twenty-five years of age, united, with the advantages of a handsome person, a cultivated mind and ardent feelings, which, diverging from the destination of woman, concentrated themselves in the political ideas upon which the system of the revolution was founded. Acquainted with the history of antiquity,

in the form in which it is presented by Plutarch and the French historical writers, she suddenly found herself impelled to tyrannicide. Marat was the man whom the deputies at Caen, and with them all the adversaries of the Mountain, described as the head and the real soul of that party; but whom they also represented as a base and contemptible villain, whom the great majority of the Parisians themselves detested, and whose fall would be a rallying sign for all the friends of liberty.

The fair enthusiast resolved to earn the prize of courage to which the stronger sex was too pusillanimous to aspire, and set out for Paris, alleging to her father, who was an utter stranger to her design, that she was going to England. On the day after her arrival, she bought, in the Palais Royal, a knife for despatching her victim. She hoped to reach him amidst his associates of the Mountain, but the doorkeeper refused her admittance into the hall of the assembly. She therefore called at Marat's residence, where he had been confined for some time by ill health, and desired to speak with him. Her manner excited the suspicion of his housekeeper, and there also she was repulsed. She then had recourse to dissimulation, and wrote a note to Marat, intimating that she came from Caen, and soliciting an interview, as she could put it in his power to render an important service to France.

In the evening of the following day, the 13th of July, she called again, and again the housekeeper refused her admittance; but Marat, who heard what passed from his room, where he was taking a bath, desired that she might come in. He immediately inquired the state of things in Caen, wished to know the names of all the deputies there, begged his visiter to repeat them, and, notwithstanding his illness and his situation, he wrote the list of proscription on a block of wood which was

drawn close enough to him. "These are conspirators," said he, "who shall all of them receive their reward on the scaffold." "There is thine!" she exclaimed, suddenly drawing the knife from her bosom, and plunging it into his heart. At the cry of Marat, who expired immediately, the females of the house hastened to him. Charlotte Corday calmly endured all the ebullitions of their rage: she attempted neither to escape, nor to take her own life, and quietly awaited the coming of the gendarmes to conduct her to the Abbaye.

The heads of the Mountain, who had so often conjured up the daggers of Mucius Scævola and Brutus, trembled for a moment with apprehension, lest other heroes and heroines of liberty might have been despatched against them. In reality, they were glad to be rid of their colleague. Danton had begun to hate, Robespierre to envy him; many other members had from the first been ashamed of the insane monster, but most of them had forgotten him since his illness. All, however, concealed their joy or their indifference under the disguise of the deepest sorrow; for the victim was the idol of the populace who ruled in the sections, and several deputations from them gave vent to the excess of their grief at the bar of the Convention. The spokesman of one of these desired that the crime might be punished with the most excruciating torments, and that the life of the murderess, instead of being cut like a thread, might be destroyed piecemeal. Duperret, a member of the Convention, to whom she had brought a letter from his friend Barbaroux, at Caen, was immediately placed under accusation, and arrested.

Meanwhile, pompous panegyrics and unexampled demonstrations of honour were lavished on the disgusting corpse of Marat. The names of Cato, Aristides, Socrates, Timoleon, Fabricius, Phocion, rang in motley

succession, to designate a man who, not sated by the blood of the September massacres, was incessantly demanding 300,000 heads. His naked body, eaten up by a loathsome disease, and covered only with a wet sheet, was exhibited in the Franciscan church, in a theatrical attitude, arranged by David the painter, representing the moment of his death, and attended to the grave by the whole of the Convention. In the hall of the assembly his bust was placed next to that of Brutus; and it was not long before every public place, not only in Paris, but in all the towns and villages in France, was disgraced by a monument of Marat, raised upon a mound of turf, emblematical of the Mountain; and, on all the festivals commanded by the Jacobins, the youth of both sexes were obliged to adorn it with wreaths, or their parents would have been dragged to the scaffold in the name of liberty. The honour of a place in the Pantheon, though an express law decreed that it should not be granted till twenty-one years after death, was claimed immediately, as an exception in favour of the French Aristides; and, to make room for future great men, the remains of Mirabeau, who had fallen into disgrace, were removed from their place in this temple. The club of the Cordeliers erected in its hall an altar to the heart of Marat; and the Convention decreed that twenty-four of its members should attend its consecration.

On the evening before Marat's funeral, Charlotte Corday was executed. She had been given up to the revolutionary tribunal. Her examination was brief. She declared, without circumlocution, that she had committed the murder, from her own sole impulse and without accomplices, on account of Marat's crimes. "I have killed a man," said she, raising her voice to the highest pitch, "to save hundreds of thousands; I have killed a villain

to save innocent persons; I have killed a wild beast to restore tranquillity to my country." The advocate appointed to defend her merely pointed out to the jury, that the high degree of composure with which she committed the act, and which she continued to retain in the near prospect of death, seemed to be an exaltation of political fanaticism to the pitch of insanity, which perhaps deserved consideration in awarding the punishment. This suggestion, of course, passed unheeded; for, though the doctrine of the Jacobins sanctioned murder, and their proceedings dissolved the bonds of society, they could not allow their principles to be turned against themselves. The prisoner was unanimously condemned to die; on which she delivered to the president of the tribunal two letters for Caen, one addressed to Barbaroux the deputy, the other to her father, written when in prison, under a certainty of her fate: in both she adverted to the feeling in which she had conceived and executed the deed, exulting in the conviction that by means of it she had paved the way to the peace and happiness of France. "The Parisians," she writes to Barbaroux, "are so republican that they cannot comprehend how a woman can coolly sacrifice her life, the longest duration of which can produce so little that is great, for the salvation of the country." Of her father she begs forgiveness for having disposed of her life without his permission. She beseeches him to rejoice at her fate, the cause of which is so glorious, and not to forget that line of Corneille's:

"Le crime fait la honte, et non pas l'échaffaud."

When conducted to execution at seven in the evening of the 17th of July, she displayed the noblest firmness. Before she set out, she wrote a few lines to Doulcet de Pontecoulant, whom she had first chosen for her official defender, but who had declined the office, upbraiding him

with cowardice, and expressing her satisfaction with M. Chauveau, who had rendered her that service. She refused the assistance of priests, either constitutional or nonjuring; and in her letter to Barbaroux she expressed a hope of meeting in the elysian fields with Brutus and other ancients, "for," she adds, "the moderns are not to my taste; they are so depraved." She was conveyed to the scaffold in a red frock. Profound silence prevailed, even among the brutal and bloodthirsty female furies, who were accustomed to surround the guillotine, and to hail the fatal stroke with applause. Her demeanour displayed a resignation and a dignity which produced a still deeper impression than her personal charms. She retained her fortitude to the last; but when the executioner bound her legs to the plank, and removed the handkerchief from her neck, her face was suffused with a modest blush, which had not left it when her head was shown to the people. The fellow who held it up slapped the cheeks several times. This unmanly insult drew murmurs even from the savage spectators, and the Jacobins thought it expedient to allow it to be punished.

Adam Luchs, one of those infatuated Germans who had expected the regeneration of the world from the revolution, but found in the focus of it nothing but horrors and abominations, chanced to be passing the place of execution just as Charlotte Corday was brought thither. He was penetrated to his inmost soul by the beauty of the victim and the unearthly lustre and expression of her eyes. This young man, one of the deputies from Mentz, was not without difficulty prevented by his colleagues from plunging a dagger into his own bosom, before the face of the Convention; and soon afterwards he gave vent to his feelings in a publication concluding with a proposal that a statue should be erected to the heroine, with the inscription: "Greater

than Brutus." He was immediately sent to prison. One of his friends strove to save him by publicly alleging that Luchs had written under the influence of a crazy passion for Corday, merely that he might die on the spot where she had suffered; but the enthusiast repudiated this excuse, and insisted that his friend should recall it. In the course of a few months, he was sent to the scaffold by the revolutionary tribunal.

Charlotte Corday excited the warmest sympathy of her contemporaries; and though her act was that of a zealous republican, yet she was praised even by persons holding royalist principles. It associated itself in the mind with deeds which have commanded admiration for ages, and hence its immoral character was too easily overlooked. Success, however, did not extenuate this murder; for, instead of giving liberty to France, it raised the tyranny which oppressed the country to a height surpassing all that had gone before.

Soon after the execution of Corday, seventy-three deputies of the right side, who, without belonging immediately to the Gironde, had voted with it as the more moderate party, found themselves involved in its fate. Their crime consisted in having signed a protest against the proceedings of the 31st of May and the 2nd of June, in opposition to the report of the Committee of Welfare. This report had been presented just before the murder of Marat, and, therefore, no use had yet been made of the protest; it was now found among the papers of Duperret, a deputy, apprehended on suspicion of connivance with Corday, because she had brought him a letter from his friend Barbaroux at Caen; and the occasion was eagerly seized to doom its authors to the fate of the Girondists. While these friends of liberty were partly consigned to prisons, partly expecting their apprehension, a constitutional act, which, after the fall

of the Gironde, had been drawn up in a few days by Herault de Sechelles, and which the Convention adopted on the 24th of June, was sent into the country, to be accepted by the primary assemblies and the armies.

This new constitution set out as usual with the rights of men and citizens. It declared universal happiness to be the object of the State, and the government instituted to insure to man the enjoyment of his natural and inalienable rights: it specified as such liberty, equality, security of person and property, the right of publishing thoughts and opinions by means of the press or in any other way, the right of petitioning, of meeting in popular assemblies, and freely exercising all the forms of religious worship. It declared, in case the government violated the liberties of the people, insurrection, as well of every individual as of the whole, to be the most sacred of rights and the most indispensable of duties; and it concluded with the assurance, that the republic honoured probity, courage, old age, filial love, and misfortune, and committed its constitution to the protection of all the virtues.

Part of the nation was still accessible to these phrases; another was glad of any form of government, hoping that it would put an end to the state of lawless anarchy. The departments which had declared against the Convention were allowed three days to purchase pardon by the acceptance of this constitution, founded on unconditional liberty; or, in the contrary case, they were to be proclaimed traitors and exterminated as such. Terror instantly seized the adherents of the fugitive Girondists. The insurrections in the West and South died away. All hastened to lay down their arms, and from the great cities, Rennes, Caen, Nantes, Lyons, Bordeaux, were received submissive letters, filled with praises of the Mountain, and far surpassing in servility the language of

Asiatic slaves. La Vendée alone refused obedience to the tyrants, and acknowledged the son of Louis XVI. as the sole and legitimate ruler of France. At this moment, the Convention, had it been so disposed, might have entirely won the republicans of the South; but it would not dismiss the charge of federalism raised against them, that it might retain a pretext for imposing contributions: besides, the heads of the Mountain despaired of ever gaining the wealthy capitalists of those commercial cities for their idea of equality, and thought it better to exterminate them at once than to be fighting them for ever.

On the approach of the 10th of August, which was fixed for the festival of the federation, and for the acceptance of the constitution, deputies from all the communes of the republic, excepting the few which were in a state of insurrection, arrived in Paris. For the celebration of this festival, the arrangements of which were consigned to David the painter, the site of the Bastille was chosen. Here was erected a gigantic image of Nature, with water issuing from her breasts. The Convention assembled by daybreak, with the deputies of the departments, the municipality of Paris, and the popular societies. The moment the sun appeared above the horizon, the president, Herault de Sechelles, offered up a prayer to Nature, beseeching her to accept the oath of everlasting love which the French people swore to her laws, and to sanctify by her water, in the chalice of fraternity and equality, the vow pronounced by France on this day, the fairest upon which the sun ever shone, since his light was first poured forth from infinite space. He then drank of the water from the statue, and after him all the deputies in succession.

After this scene, designed to represent the original condition of mankind, a procession of the people and

the authorities intermingled, the legislators being merely distinguished by ears of corn and olive branches, set out for the Champ de Mars, preceded by a flag inscribed with the declaration of the rights of man, and followed by a car drawn by eight white horses, with an urn for the ashes of those who had fallen in battle for freedom, and a cart filled with crown, sceptre, coats of arms, and pedigrees, inscribed "These have always been the bane of the human race." In the Place de la Revolution, one of the points at which the procession halted by the way, the deputies set fire to these insignia of royalty, before the statue of Liberty, erected among young trees, the branches of which were hung with red caps and tricoloured ribbons; while the president declared the pike, the cap of liberty, the ploughshare, and the sheaf of corn, to be the true emblems of the republic, and Justice and Vengeance the patron-goddesses of free nations; and called for curses upon the memory of the last tyrant who had on that spot atoned for his crimes. The moment the pile was kindled, three thousand birds with tricoloured ribbons, inscribed "We are free; imitate us," flew off in all directions.

The next station was near the Invalides, where stood a colossal statue representing the French people in the act of smiting a monster, denoting federalism. In the Champ de Mars stood the lofty altar of the country; the deputies of the Convention and of the departments, in ascending to it, were obliged to stoop under a level, hanging down low from a tricoloured ribbon, to signify equality. The president took the oldest of the deputies of the departments by the hand on reaching the altar, and proclaimed the constitution. A salute of artillery and prodigious acclamations succeeded. Hereupon, the deputies of the eighty-seven departments handed their pikes to the president, who tied them in a bundle with a

tricoloured ribbon. Followed by the car with the urn, the Convention then repaired to a temple erected at the furthest extremity of the Champ de Mars, in which the urn was deposited. The president, clasping it with one arm, held forth a laurel wreath in the other, and made a speech concerning the warriors who had fallen for the country. A frugal meal under tents concluded the *fête*.

The details of a farce so contemptibly childish may perhaps be thought scarcely worthy of record; but they serve at least to illustrate the republican extravagance of the time, the frivolous character of the people who could be entertained with such puerilities, and the shallow imagination of the artist, celebrated though he might be, by whom they were devised.

Scarcely had this constitution been proclaimed as the only and everlasting law of the French people, and the deputies returned to their homes, when the Convention, on the motion of St. Just and the requisition of the Committee of Welfare, decreed, on the 28th of August, that the government of the republic should continue provisionally in a state of revolution till the termination of the war. By this decree the constitution just sworn to was abolished, and the nine members who, since the 27th of July, constituted the Committee of Welfare, Robespierre, Carnot, Couthon, Lindet, Prieur, Barrère, Billaud Varennes, Jean Bon St. André, and Collot d'Herbois, were invested with unlimited power over the lives and property of the citizens. If Asiatic despots exercise arbitrary power, it is only under various restrictions imposed by religion and custom: these nine rulers of France were exempted from all shackles by the intoxication into which the revolution had thrown the whole nation; and so long as they were able to keep one portion of it in fury, the other in fear, they could do whatever reason or passion represented as conducive to the

public weal. For this notion, as expounded by themselves, all human and civil rights were violated, freedom of thought and speech, and security of life and property annihilated; France was covered with guillotines, and, by virtue of laws declaring words, looks, and opinions to be capital crimes, the population was slaughtered *en masse* by tribunals which outdid the sanguinary spirit of this legislation by the cruel levity of their proceedings. One part of the nation was outlawed; the other, shielded by the name of Jacobins, was authorized to commit every kind of enormity for the words liberty and country. What had hitherto been virtue now became crime, and nothing but crime was now called virtue. That son was extolled as a patriot who denounced his father for royalist sentiments, and he was a decided republican who assisted in demolishing his birthplace. "It is not the happiness of Persepolis," said St. Just, "but that of Sparta, which we have promised France."

CHAPTER XXX.

CIVIL WAR IN THE INTERIOR OF FRANCE.

To the external disasters of the republic was added war at home. On the tidings of the apprehension of the Girondists, the southern departments had declared against the tyranny of the Mountain, and Lyons, the second city of France, at that time extremely flourishing from the extensive demand for its manufactures, had taken the lead in an association, which the Mountain furiously denounced by the name of federalism. In fact, the iron yoke imposed by Paris upon all France might well awaken in individuals, or even in whole communes, a wish for a constitution conferring true liberty and

independence. In Lyons, the Jacobin club was closed, and Challier, one of its most infamous members, who had committed murders himself, and, like his prototype Marat, instigated the perpetration of many more, was, agreeably to the laws, but contrary to the express command of the Convention, which ordered him to be sent to Paris, condemned to death and executed.

Unluckily, the people of Lyons imagined that the Jacobins ruling in Paris could forgive this step. Accordingly, when the Convention, with cruel artifice, as though entertaining the idea of reconciliation, demanded from them twenty pieces of heavy artillery for the war against Spain, they delivered to it part of their own means of defence; and, still more alarmed at the issue of the insurrection at Marseilles, they sent deputies to Paris to declare their acceptance of the new constitution.

The Mountain, however, wanted no peace with moderates and wealthy men; and Lyons soon found itself threatened, by a numerous army under Kellermann, with terrible vengeance, in the exercise of which the friends of liberty and humanity surpassed the servants of the most arbitrary monarchs. In this dilemma all flew to arms; a man of ability, named Precy, put himself at their head, and a siege commenced, in which, for seventy days, the assailants employed without scruple all the means of a superior force. The besieged opposed the resistance of despair. Without distinction of age or sex, they submitted to all the hardships and dangers incident to the defence, with a heroism that was worthy of a more successful result. Women did duty at the outposts along with the men. At length, worn out with famine, they sent deputies to treat for a surrender. Two thousand of the most resolute, conducted by Precy, attempted to escape, but, being surprised in the narrow passes of St. Cyr, Mont d'Or, and St. Germain,

almost all of them perished; about fifty only, among whom was their leader, being fortunate enough to reach Switzerland.

Kellermann, being considered deficient in republican zeal, for such was the interpretation of the least show of humanity in military matters, was superseded in the command of the besieging army by Doppet, who advanced on the 9th of October, and forced the gates, which were no longer defended. The worst fears that revolutionary fury could inspire were fully realized. At first, certain civil and military leaders only were doomed to die: a committee of administration was then instituted; a Jacobin club was again opened in the theatre, and Javoque, a deputy of the Convention, published a decree, changing the name of Lyons to Commune Affranchie. The ambiguous meaning of this change soon became apparent. Lyons was to be destroyed; its inhabitants were to be butchered. On the 21st of October, the Convention decreed, on the motion of Barrère, that a column should be erected on the ruins of the city, to proclaim to posterity the crime and the punishment of the enemies of liberty by this inscription: "Lyons warred against freedom; Lyons is no more."

To carry into execution the more laborious part of the sentence, Javoque called upon the working people and the poorer mechanics to assist in pulling down the houses of all the eminent and the wealthy, as the surest way to produce that sublime equality which constitutes the foundation of the liberty and energy of a martial people. Hands for the work of slaughter were more easily found. From forty to fifty heads daily fell under the fatal axe. Holes were dug to receive the blood; but still the places of execution were drenched with it. The populace, paid for applauding at these executions, began to tire; the executioners tired; the judges alone were

not weary—they were only afraid of losing too much time. Hundreds of victims, bound together two and two, were soon daily extended on the ground by means of cannon, and completely despatched with the sword and bayonet. No kind of horror and enormity was spared; to escape imprisonment, death, or plunder, the wives of emigrants, or of murdered citizens, were forced to throw themselves into the arms of monsters yet dripping with the blood of their husbands and relatives, or to contract, at the foot of the tree of liberty, marriages with coachmen and porters. Some women were kept bound for hours to the posts of the guillotine, that they might be sprinkled by the blood of their husbands, because they had presumed to solicit their lives at the doors of the deputies of the Convention.

Collot d'Herbois, sent with Fouché to Lyons, wrote to the Convention that compassion was a dangerous weakness, which would be liable to encourage criminal hopes at the very time when it was necessary to crush them. He lamented that there existed men who sought to prevent the execution of the decree for the annihilation of Lyons, and that the work of destruction proceeded so slowly: republican impatience, he said, needed more effective means; nothing but the springing of a mine, or the consuming rapidity of flame, could express the omnipotence of the people. Amidst these atrocities and abominations, those of the inhabitants whom death had not yet overtaken were compelled to attend a republican *fête*, instituted in honour of Chalier, the Jacobin, executed agreeably to the sentence of a jury. It was celebrated by a procession equally horrible and ludicrous. A moveable guillotine, stained with blood, and accompanied by the executioner, figured in this infernal revel, and was followed by the representatives of the French people. In the club, panegyrics on the

deified hero were read; and, in these effusions, which were liberally circulated among the people, the destruction of the city and the slaughter of the inhabitants were represented as a sacrifice that it was necessary to offer to the manes of the republicans who had fallen during the siege.

The municipality of Marseilles, which espoused the cause of the Girondists, and which was able to raise a considerable force for the overthrow of royalty, had great difficulty to form an army against the Jacobins. Very few young men of wealthy families could be induced to join the troops destined to act against the Mountain. In their stead the magistrates were obliged to take sailors, houseless strangers, and people of bad character; they appointed officers on whom little reliance could be placed, and in this manner raised a corps of 3,000 men. Marseilles, nevertheless, formed the generous resolution of affording succour to Lyons in its distress. A small force left the city, marched up the Rhone, and entered Avignon. It was soon met by Cartaux, one of the most incompetent generals of the Republic, and beaten with so little effort as to lead to the conjecture of an understanding between the parties. Dismayed by this defeat, the municipality was quite disheartened. Cartaux entered Marseilles on the 25th of August, accompanied by Barras and Freron, two members of the Convention. The city was treated like a town taken by storm, and already designated by the furious Freron as a place without a name. The most respectable of the citizens and civilians, together with those who continued faithful to the departmental legion, fled to Toulon. This city, so important for its strong fortifications, and its fine port, had, in spite of the efforts of the Jacobins, hoisted the royal standard, and proclaimed Louis XVII. Just at this time arrived the fugitives from Marseilles, and by

their reports they increased the alarm of the authorities which had acted against the Jacobins. Cartaux was advancing with his victorious army against the city, and, to escape cruel reprisals, the inhabitants resolved to throw themselves into the arms of the English.

A British fleet under the command of Lord Hood had been for some weeks cruizing off the southern coast of France, ready to take advantage of the civil war kindled in the interior. Dread of impending vengeance induced the people of Toulon to enter into negociations for the surrender of the city to the British admiral, who took possession of it on the 29th of August, in the name of Louis XVII. Eighteen sail of the line and several frigates, an arsenal containing 3,000 pieces of cannon, and the finest harbour of the Mediterranean, thus fell into the hands of the English. It was chiefly this stroke that reconciled the nation to the extraordinary measures ordained by its rulers, by which all France was summoned to arms, and a force of 800,000 men furnished by the first class of the levy. The disharmony subsisting between Lord Hood and Don Juan de Langara, who joined him with a strong Spanish squadron, just after the surrender of Toulon, and also the inconceivable neglect of the Piedmontese generals, opposed with a far superior force to the French army of the Alps, to profit by the troubles in the southern provinces, proved highly advantageous to the ruling powers in Paris. But still more serviceable to them than the faults of their foreign enemies was the circumstance that the Girondist republicans, with a conscientious adherence to the principles of liberty and the constitution, disdained to make common cause with the royalists of La Vendée.

After the failure of the enterprise against Nantes, the insurgents of La Vendée dispersed, and returned to their homes. Before they had again prepared themselves for

the fight, the republicans, reinforced by 12,000 Parisians under Westermann and Santerre, advanced, and on the 30th of June took possession of Saumur. Westermann, ravaging with fire and sword, penetrated into the Bocage, and pushed on to Chatillon; but there he was totally defeated, on the 5th of July, by the insurgents, who revenged the cruelties which he had committed by butchering their republican prisoners.

At the same time that a carrier, a gamekeeper, or a wool-dealer commanded the troops of the nobles, the army of the Jacobins was headed by Biron, formerly a duke and peer of France, and better known by his earlier title of Duke de Lauzun. He was one of those who, out of enmity to the court and on account of his intimacy with Orleans, had plunged into the vortex of the revolution, but without gaining the entire confidence of the Mountain. The moderation by which he strove to win the Vendeans, when victory began at length to incline to the arms of the stronger party, exposed him to suspicion, and gave a colour to the calumnies of Ronsin, Vincent, and their associates, in consequence of which he was summoned to Paris, thrown into prison, and condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal as a conspirator against the republic. He is said to have declared on the scaffold that he was sensible how faithless he had been to God and to his king. On the recommendation of Robespierre, Rossignol was appointed his successor.

The insurgents gained another victory on the 18th of July. Santerre, defeated near Vitriers, lost twenty-five pieces of cannon, and about 3,000 republicans were taken prisoners; fugitives from the routed army fled as far as Paris; and the country, to the gates of Tours, was open to the insurgents. The latter, about this time, chose d'Elbée for their commander-in-chief. It

was not a happy choice: Bonchamps and La Roche-Jaquelin were much fitter for that post. D'Elbée's appointment was the beginning of an almost uninterrupted series of disasters. Marching to the south, where the republicans had occupied Luçon, the insurgents attacked them, on the 14th of August, with a united force of 40,000 men; but, though their adversaries numbered only 6,000, they sustained a severe defeat, which cost them 5,000 killed and 16 pieces of cannon. On the other hand, they dispersed the republican army under Autichamp, near Chantonnay, on the 5th of September.

The late garrison of Mentz was now advancing along the Lower Loire; the annihilating campaign of the republicans commenced. Barrère had, on the 1st of August, urged the necessity for adopting a different system of warfare in La Vendée, and recommended indiscriminate devastation, but also efforts for overcoming the difficulties of the ground. On the same day, the institution of twenty-four companies of pioneers, and of companies of chasseurs and tirailleurs, and an augmentation of the artillery, were decreed. In the second week of September the republicans advanced, slaughtering and burning all before them; and, henceforward, the war assumed the character of atrocious cruelty, in which the insurgents indulged as well as their foes.

The superiority in arms was not yet decided in favour of the republicans. The garrison of Mentz alone, led by distinguished generals, Dubayet, Kleber, and Haxo, were excellent soldiers; the rest were mostly a disorderly and undisciplined rabble. While Charette retired before the former, Santerre's army of 40,000 men, only 8,000 of whom were of the line, was totally routed, and dispersed in precipitate flight, in the space of an hour, near Coron. On the 19th of September, after the junction of the forces of the Bocage with those of the Marais, the

advanced guard of the army, including the Mentz troops, was defeated near Torfou, after a gallant resistance; on the 21st General Beysser's corps was dispersed; and on the 23rd, 6,000 republicans were beaten out of the field at St. Fulgent, in the south. Several thousand prisoners and about 100 pieces of cannon had fallen into the hands of the insurgents since the middle of September. Their leaders hereupon separated; they were not free from jealousy of one another; and, if Charette was most distinguished for ability, he had also great obstinacy and inordinate ambition.

The republicans gave themselves no rest: taking advantage of the absence of Charette, who had set out on an expedition against the island of Noirmoutier, they attacked the Bocage on two sides, Kleber and Canclaux proceeding from Nantes, and Westermann from the south; 30,000 republicans were in the heart of that district. After many petty actions, in one of which Lescure fell, the insurgents, more numerous than they had ever been in arms, (44,000 men,) were worsted on the 17th of October, at Cholet, where the brave Marceau was the hero of the day in the republican army. D'Elbée and Bonchamps were mortally wounded. Barrère declared in the Convention: "La Vendée is no more."

An unfortunate resolution of the insurgents contributed to give an awful reality to this expression. Despairing of their ability to continue the struggle any longer in their own country, which their enemies were converting into a desert, they determined, at the instigation of the Prince de Talmont, who had extensive possessions on the right bank of the Loire, and with the consent of the dying Bonchamps, to cross that river. Besides the prospect of a junction with the insurgents there, they were allured by the hope of obtaining succours from England, or, in the worst event, of escaping to that country.

Accordingly, they assembled for the purpose of crossing the Loire. There were about 30,000 fighting men, accompanied by a great number of women, aged persons, and children; 5,000 republican prisoners were set at liberty. The passage, effected at Ancenis and Varades, occupied two days and nights, (October the 18th and 19th,) and the encumbered train directed its course towards Laval, the seat of the Prince of Talmont. From Laval the insurgents proceeded towards the north coast, but there was no rising of the Bretons; in vain they exerted themselves, for two days, to make themselves masters of Granville, a town on the coast; in vain they looked for succours from England, which were prepared, it is true, but did not sail till the 1st of December. After sustaining great loss, they were obliged to commence their retreat. The mass was disheartened, and partly mutinous; they opposed the design of the leaders to march to Normandy, and insisted on returning home.

After clearing themselves a way to the Loire by several actions, they were foiled, in an attack of two days, on Angers. Dispirited, struggling with diseases and want, and followed by a helpless multitude of unarmed persons, they turned off for Le Mans, in hopes of exciting sympathy in the country. Westermann and Marceau hastened after them, and, on the 12th of December, a most sanguinary engagement ensued; 15,000 of the insurgents were slain in and near Le Mans; the republicans made themselves masters of the town, and the heroic La Roche-Jaquelin sorrowfully led back the relics of his force to Laval, and thence to Ancenis. The prisoners were mostly shot by command of General Turreau, and Prieur of la Marne and Bourbotte, commissioners of the Convention. Benaben, a republican, in the report of his mission, relates, that women were drawn up in files of thirty or forty, to be thus slaughtered. Thomas,

one of the witnesses against Carrier, in his account of the savage inhumanities practised on the Vendeans, says, "I have seen men, women, aged people, shut up in their houses, and burned alive. I have seen 150 soldiers maltreat, violate, women and girls of fourteen or fifteen, then murder them, and toss from bayonet to bayonet young infants, who were extended beside their mothers upon the pavement." Rossignol, the commander-in-chief of the bloodthirsty republicans, writing to the Committee of Welfare, observed: "There are still *human men*, and, in time of revolution, that is a great defect, in my opinion." At the same time he wished that recourse might be had to chemistry, in order to complete the extermination of the brigands.

The Vendeans, on their arrival at Ancenis, found but few boats for crossing the river. Just as La Roche-Jaquelin and Stofflet reached the opposite shore, Westermann attacked those who were left behind; they fled in confusion towards Nort: all who had not the good fortune to escape were slaughtered. About 10,000 men, mostly capable of bearing arms, continued together at Nort, but they were not allowed to rest long. A detachment from the army of the North, called the infernal column, marched against them. In the most deplorable condition, and pressed at the same time by Westermann, Kleber, and Marceau, they strove to reach the west coast, but were cooped up between the Loire, the Vilaine, and the sea, near Savenay, and forced to fight for their lives. This was their death-struggle: 6000 fell on the field of battle, or were butchered immediately afterwards as prisoners; the few hundred who dispersed and fled mostly fell into the hands of their pursuers, and the same fate awaited them, for Carrier and Francastel had already commenced their sanguinary operations.

Charette had, meanwhile, been engaged upon the coast, where the islands of Noirmoutier and Bouin served him for places of refuge: he, too, was probably hoping for succours from England. General Haxo forced him to fall back upon the Bocage, where, at the time of Charette's arrival, La Roche-Jaquelin, after escaping a thousand dangers, again made his appearance as commander-in-chief. While Charette was in the west, the republicans under Turreau made themselves masters, on the 3rd of January, 1794, of the island of Noirmoutier. The garrison of 1200 men, together with d'Elbée, who was dying of his wound, his wife, and part of the inhabitants, were put to death.

The Marais was now considered as conquered: but Charette, Stofflet, and La Roche-Jaquelin had not laid down their arms; Turreau, therefore, devised a plan for reducing the country to a desert, transplanting the peaceful inhabitants, and exterminating the rest.

Let us now turn to the scenes of horror meanwhile passing at Nantes. Carrier, one of the most atrocious monsters produced by the revolution, a brutal debauchee, and a rival in savage cruelty to Collot d'Herbois, had fixed his residence in that city. Sixty of the most depraved wretches were selected and formed into a revolutionary company called Marat's; and persons of the like stamp were appointed judges of the revolutionary tribunal, which was assisted in its labours by courts-martial. Pay was promised to accusers. Victims were brought in by thousands, and thrown into loathsome dungeons, where they were kept without fire in the severe cold of winter: foul straw formed their bed, half a pound of bread and water their daily food. Pestilential diseases broke out, and the living and the dead lay intermingled together.

Carrier sent 132 inhabitants of Nantes to Paris to be

tried there; and to this circumstance they owed the preservation of their lives. Courts-martial and revolutionary tribunals were indefatigable in the work of blood: the number of persons shot amounted to 4000; the guillotine was kept continually going, and from 150 to 200 were condemned every day. Foucault, one of Carrier's assistants, proposed, for the more rapid despatch of business, the expedient of drowning; and the *noyades* of Nantes furnished a worthy counterpart to the *mitraillades* of Lyons. Vessels were contrived with trap-doors, which could be opened to admit the water; these were called *bateaux à soupape*. Ninety priests, to begin with, were put on board a vessel of this kind at night, and sunk in the river; by a second noyade 129 persons, by a third 800, and by a fourth from 300 to 400 were disposed of. These four noyades were judicially proved; a fearful obscurity envelops the rest. It is alleged that they amounted to twenty-three in all, and that more than 600 children—one witness says upwards of 2400 women and children—were drowned in this manner. Rapacity began to strip these victims, and the palled appetite for murder to find gratification in their death-struggles. Men and women, and youths of different sexes, were bound naked together in couples, face to face, and flung into the river. These executions the monsters termed Vendean weddings. When not feasting his eyes upon such spectacles, Carrier was indulging in the most disgraceful orgies, or raving in the grossest language, with a drawn sword in his hand, at the Jacobin club.

But Carrier was not the only perpetrator of inhuman enormities. His colleague Francastel, who went from Nantes to Angers, and Hentz, were coadjutors worthy of him. They ordered 2700 men, women, and children, who had submitted on the faith of the amnesty, to be

shot at once, in the meadow of St. Gemmes near Angers. The number of the victims sacrificed by Carrier and his assistants cannot be stated with precision; by some it is estimated at 15,000, by others at 40,000; and the latter is perhaps not exaggerated, if all the persons put to death after the last victory of the republicans at Savenay be taken into the account. But who can compute with accuracy the number of the victims on both sides, sacrificed by the war in La Vendée! We shall not overrate the loss of life in this sanguinary struggle, if we assume it to have exceeded that occasioned by the war against the coalition.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CONTINUATION OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1793.

The horrors of civil war, to which the stream of events has carried us, were but incidents in that game which, under the name of a state of revolution, the Parisian rulers were playing with the happiness and the lives of the inhabitants of France. The condition in which the republic found itself in August seemed indeed desperate, and to justify any means of deliverance whatever. After the fall of Valenciennes and Mentz, the way into the interior from the north and west lay open to the Austrians, the Prussians, the English, and the Dutch; at the Pyrenees, eastern and western, two armies unsuccessfully opposed the Spaniards, who, on the 24th of June, under Ricardos, reduced the fortress of Bellegarde; La Vendée had 60,000 royalists on foot; the republicans of the South were not quelled; and a combined Austrian and Sardinian army on the Alps could lend

them a hand if they would accept it. The rest of France too was more disposed to throw off the yoke of the Convention than to support its authority. The armies were in a disorganized state, bordering on dissolution, nowhere equal in number to the enemy opposed to them, and commanded by generals without reputation and without talents, who had reason to tremble at every step for fear of ignorant supervisors and the axe of bloodthirsty judges. Thus, according to all the calculations of human sagacity, the fall of the atrocious system seemed to be near at hand. The rulers themselves, however, so far from being disheartened, redoubled their rage and energy on the tidings of every new disaster. That they might not have to atone with their lives for the murder of the king, and, what to most of them was a matter of still greater importance, that they might not see their opinions and principles overthrown, they carried tyranny to its extreme point.

On the 12th of August, Danton proposed in the Convention that the 8000 deputies who had come to Paris from the provinces for the festival of the 10th of August, should be furnished with full powers to raise recruits in their respective departments. This idea furnished the first hint for the plan of a levy *en masse*, recommended by a meeting of those deputies, and of members of the Convention and of the Jacobin club, held to consider what measures were required to save the country in so dangerous a crisis. Barrère drew up a report on the subject, which he read to the assembly on the 23rd of August, and the levy *en masse* was decreed by acclamation. By virtue of this law, from that moment till the enemy should be driven from the territory of the republic, all Frenchmen were to be in permanent requisition for military service. The young were to join

the armies immediately; the married men to forge arms and to transport provisions; the women to make tents and clothes, and to act as nurses in the hospitals; the children to scrape lint; the old men to make others carry them into the public places, to excite the courage of the soldiers and their hatred of kings.

Wild and impracticable as were these and other clauses of that decree, still it laid the foundation of a new military system, which was destined, in the space of twenty years, to extend itself over the whole of Europe. All who were acquainted with military matters demonstrated the incongruity and absurdity of this requisition, which was totally irreconcileable with the principles that had hitherto prevailed relative to the raising of armies and supplies. It furnished, nevertheless, for the moment, fresh and numerous masses of troops for reinforcing the armies; for, in order to give effect to the decree, the sum of 100,000,000 francs was placed at the disposal of the minister of war; and, at the same time, a revolutionary army, with twelve itinerant tribunals, was formed, to seize and try all conspirators, forestallers, and in general all those who should throw any impediment in the way of the decree. Men of principle could not now escape the alternative of being executioners or victims, unless by assuming the uniform, and seeking in the camp, or on the field of battle, an asylum from the malice of accusers and the rapacity of the revolutionary authorities. Money was coined by the manufactory of assignats, which was as incessantly at work as the guillotine, and always found new pledges in the estates of the executed persons. As, however, at last, no purchasers presented themselves, for fear of being thought wealthy, and the assignats became alarmingly depreciated, and the foolish law of the maximum had de-

stroyed almost all internal trade, the only kind that was yet left; the legislature resorted to the simplest means of procuring supplies for the army, and issued a law requiring the owners to deliver them gratuitously, upon pain of death if they should endeavour to withhold any article whatever from the service of the republic. "Because our virtue, our moderation, our philosophical ideas, have not helped us to any thing," said Drouet, the deputy, in the sitting of the 5th of September, "we will turn robbers for the welfare of the people; we will solemnly declare that all suspected persons shall pay with their heads for the public disasters, that the revolutionary committees shall be authorized to apprehend all suspected persons, without assigning any reasons." The faults of the enemies of France furnished an excuse for these measures.

The impression produced upon the public opinion throughout all Europe by the second partition of Poland, just then carried into effect, was favourable to the revolutionary rulers. At a time when kings stood in such need of the public confidence, they forfeited it entirely by this act of a mischievously selfish policy, which crippled their power, took from the proceedings of the Convention part of their odiousness, gave a powerful stimulus to the zeal of the republican armies, and rendered the cause of the Jacobins a national cause, inasmuch as it justified their assertion that their enemies contemplated the dismemberment of France also. But the principal ground of their successes lay in the system of warfare pursued by the allies. Among those who were at that time deemed the best judges of military matters, the opinion prevailed that all the French frontier fortresses must be reduced before a march from the Netherlands to Paris would be practicable. It was chiefly this opinion that saved the Jacobins, because it allowed them to keep

their ground in Paris, and there to develop the energies of the nation. Four months had elapsed since the defection of Dumouriez had abandoned the republic almost defenceless to the enemy, and still but a few frontier districts were overrun, and only two frontier fortresses taken. This course of operations left nothing worse to be apprehended than the siege of Lille and Landrecies; and from the history of the Spanish succession war it was well known how long those places could hold out. Hence the assurance manifested by the republican rulers. A plan like that executed twenty-one years later, under much more difficult circumstances, in opposition to an arbitrary sovereign and consummate general, would infallibly have converted the affected heroism of Robespierre and Barrère into panic fear.

The allies had, on the 28th of July, not fewer than 280,000 fighting men from Basle to Lille. The most natural mode of employing this force would seem to be to have marched it in two great masses; on the one side from Valenciennes upon Soissons, and on the other from Mentz, by way of Luxemburg, upon Rheims. If the flanks had been covered by 100,000 men, Paris might still have been reached with 180,000, the Convention expelled, and a peace suitable to the interests of Europe and of the French nation concluded. Time had, indeed, been already lost; but the French, on their part, had not yet carried into execution any of those measures on which they had declared their salvation to depend. Even Carnot had not yet a place in the Committee of Welfare; the levy *en masse* was not proposed till four weeks later, and it would take weeks, if not months, to carry it into effect. The immense line of frontier was covered by detached defensive camps, whose disheartened troops had yet no direction upon one general centre. The grand point was not to give the nation time to consider and to collect its forces.

But other counsels prevailed. The allies remained for nine days longer near Valenciennes, and then separated, the Duke of York, with the English and Dutch, marching northward upon Dunkirk; Coburg, with the Austrians, to the left upon Quesnoy. Foreign writers attribute this capital blunder to the eagerness of the British cabinet to gain possession of a sea-port, the value of which was infinitely overrated. The whole of the allied troops between the Moselle and the sea exceeded 160,000 men, to whom the French, under Kilmaine, the *ad interim* successor of Custine, could not oppose half the number. This powerful force was divided into two smaller masses, diverging from their centre to besiege two fortresses of no decided importance to the object of the war; it was moreover frittered away in chains of posts, for guarding all the intervals of the long line between the Moselle and the sea, and systematically covering all the bridges and roads.

Meanwhile, Quesnoy capitulated on the 11th of September, in consequence of a tremendous bombardment; but the Duke of York totally failed in the enterprise against Dunkirk. Houchard, who was ordered to relieve that fortress, obliged him, after obstinate engagements of three successive days near Hondschooten, to retreat with loss on the 9th of September; and, on the 13th, he defeated the Dutch, in a sanguinary action near Menin; but, as he had not totally destroyed the enemy, and on the 15th was himself worsted by the Austrian general Beaulieu, when the French fled in confusion under the guns of Lille, he was summoned to Paris, and, on 26th of November, sent to the guillotine, as an incompetent and disobedient leader. "It has long been the principle," said Barrère, in descanting on the faults attributed to this general, "in order to profit by the courage of the soldiers, to adopt the principle of Frede-

rick and of all great generals, that of keeping their armies together in large masses, instead of dividing their forces. You, on the contrary, have only dispersed widespread armies; even when they were collected into masses, these were parted by ignorant and faithless generals, and led against superior enemies to be defeated. The committee has remarked the evil, and written to the generals to fight in mass; they have not done so, and losses have been the consequence." It cannot be denied that this notion was as just as the course pursued for instilling it into the generals was barbarous. The object was, nevertheless, attained; and dread of the fatal axe impelled the French generals to adopt a system of warfare more efficient for its novelty, to which they were themselves averse, and on which their adversaries, in the pride of superior military science, looked down with contempt.

By the same good fortune as in the Netherlands, the French armies on the Upper and Middle Rhine escaped the destruction that seemed to await them from the superiority of the allies. After the fall of Mentz, the latter passed nearly two months inactive; for several marches and actions of posts, though they served to display the skill and courage of the Prussians, yet were of no importance to the issue of the war. The ground for this inactivity, so incomprehensible at the time, probably lay in a disagreement between the courts of Berlin and Vienna, arising from the partition of Poland, and which it required a long negociation to adjust. At any rate, the time thus lost was irretrievable; for then the French army of the Rhine and Moselle was almost broken up, and deprived of its leaders, by the system of terror practised against the generals; while the Prussians were commanded by their king and the duke of Brunswick, and the Austrians by field-marshal Wurmser,

whose boldness and activity age had not diminished, Instead, however, of joining in some grand undertaking, the union of the two armies only served to develop their mutual jealousies. Wurmser was nettled by the repeated refusal of the allies to assist him to conquer Alsace, where he had estates and relations, and he at length ventured upon several separate attacks on the French positions in the Vosges, in which he lost men and gained no advantages.

The Prussians, on the other hand, repulsed the attack made on the 14th of September by general Moreau, in obedience to the command of some deputies of the Convention, upon their entrenchments near Pirmasens, where the French lost 22 pieces of cannon and 4,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. This victory seemed to infuse some spirit into the hitherto listless operations, and at the same time the diplomatic negociations were brought to a favourable issue.

On the part of the French, not only the commanders-in-chief were changed at the pleasure of the commissioners, but the officers of the staff and the commandants of divisions were incessantly superseded at the suggestion of the Jacobin crew that accompanied the deputies. After the citizen had been so long exposed to the oppression and arrogance of the military, the world beheld a sight such as had never yet been seen—generals watched, governed, insulted, and even marked out for the death of criminals, by civilians.

After the removal of Beauharnois, and of Landremont, his successor, Pichegru was destined for the command of the army of the Rhine; but, as his coming was delayed, the deputies placed at its head a captain of cavalry, who was only fit to lead a squadron. Its position in the lines of Weissenburg was sufficiently secured by formidable entrenchments. On the 26th of September, how-

ever, St. Imbert, the key of this position, was taken by the Prussians, who crossed the Vosges, and, supported by Wurmser, stormed the lines on the 13th of October: the French, leaving behind some of their cannon, retreated to Haguenau and Strasburg.

Wurmser was in correspondence with Strasburg. The magistrates and the principal inhabitants, weary of mob rule, sent before the arrival of the retreating army two deputies to him, with a proposal to deliver their city into his hands for Louis XVII. The Austrian general scrupled to invalidate the right of his court to a conquest of which he made quite sure, and applied for instructions. Meanwhile, the affair was discovered. Seventy persons, belonging to the most distinguished families, and among them several relations of Wurmser's, atoned for their participation in the design with their lives; and that general threw the blame on the Duke of Brunswick, who had refused his co-operation in cutting off the retreat of the enemy's army to Strasburg. He now confined himself to besieging Fort Louis, then called Fort Vauban, which surrendered on the 14th of November, with a garrison of 3,000 men.

Landau was bombarded by the Prussians under the prince-royal, and the bombardment was soon turned into a blockade, though the place was not likely to hold out long, owing to the want of provisions. The king himself left the army about the end of September, to join his troops in Poland. The duke of Brunswick, in order to cover the blockade of Landau, took a position near Kaiserslautern, and advised Wurmser, who had indiscreetly spread himself over all Alsace, to abandon part of the country which he occupied, and to post himself in close masses behind the Sur.

At the same time that the acquisition of the lines of Weissenburg put the allies in possession of the country

of the Vosges, Fortune, who had so long offered her favours in vain to their army of the North, turned her back upon them. After the fall of Quesnoy, Coburg had waited too long before he resolved to besiege the far stronger fortress of Maubeuge, the possession of which a few months earlier would have decided the issue of the campaign, and which, even at the beginning of October, might have served for a point of support to the central line between the Sambre and Meuse. Jourdan, who had distinguished himself in the engagement at Hondschooten, and after Houchard's recall been appointed, in spite of his refusals, to the post of commander-in-chief, which was rendered far more dangerous by the caprices of the ruling committee and its emissaries than by the balls of the enemy, received repeated orders to fight, and obeyed them, on the 15th of October, in the presence and with the co-operation of Carnot, who paid frequent visits to the army, by attacking Coburg at Wattignies. After two days' sanguinary fighting, the prince was induced, in the night of the third, to commence his perhaps too hasty retreat across the Sambre. All further efforts for driving the Austrians entirely from the territory of the republic proved abortive, and in November both armies went into winter-quarters. A decree of accusation was already launched against the victor of Wattignies, when the commissioners, who had been with him in the field, interposed in his favour, so that he was only dismissed from the service, and was soon afterwards appointed second in command of the army of the Moselle. Barrère, in his report, reproved him for having forgotten the maxim of Cæsar, who considered that "nothing had been done, while anything was left undone."

Hoche, a young officer, who, at the commencement of the revolution, was sergeant in the French guards, afterwards one of the first sub-lieutenants nominated upon the

new system, and who had distinguished himself in the defence of Dunkirk, was placed at the head of the army of the Moselle, in the expectation that he would take Cæsar's maxim for his rule. The task imposed on him was, in conjunction with Pichegru, to relieve Landau and to clear Alsace; but an attack of three days, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of November, on the combined Prussian and Saxon position near Kaiserslautern, terminated in the loss of more than 3,000 men, and a retreat, which would have cost him still dearer, had not the duke of Brunswick left him unmolested. Under Carnot's protection, Hoche escaped the fate which usually followed close at the heels of every reverse experienced by a French general, and was thus enabled to make amends for his fault or his misfortune. Reinforced by detachments from the army of the Ardennes, and favoured by the disharmony prevailing between the Prussians and the Austrians, he obliged the latter, by a series of movements and impetuous attacks, executed in concert with Pichegru, to abandon their advanced positions, the fault of which was too great extension and defective support of the right wing; but most unexpectedly it was decided on the 25th of December, in a council of war, to evacuate the lines of Weissenburg, to raise the blockade of Landau, and to retire beyond the Rhine.

When this unaccountable resolution was brought to the duke of Brunswick, he represented that "circumstances were not such as to make them think of retreating, but of attacking the enemy, whenever and wherever they should find him; that a retreat which there was nothing to justify would disgrace both armies, in the eyes of the world; and that the most disastrous consequences of a lost battle would not be more ruinous." The prince of Hohenlohe repaired to the Austrian camp

to support this remonstrance. Wurmser was induced to change his resolution, and a decisive engagement for the following day, the 26th, was determined upon. The plan for it was formed with judgment, but not executed. The Austrian general deemed his army too much weakened to hazard a formal battle; and the troops, already advancing, received counter-orders. On the left wing of his army, however, where seven battalions of infantry and eight divisions of cavalry covered the march of the army in a dangerous position near Geisberg, an action took place to the disadvantage of the Austrians; and it would have proved more disastrous, had not the duke of Brunswick hastened to the spot, put himself at the head of some of their battalions, and dislodged the enemy from the height commanding the road to Weissenburg. The retreat previously resolved upon was now continued, and on the 30th of December the Austrian army crossed the Rhine at Philipsburg. The Prussians could do no other than retire to Mentz, while the French occupied not only Alsace, but likewise the Palatinate of the Rhine. The blockade of Landau was raised, and the Austrians evacuated Fort Louis, after blowing-up the works.

The causes of this issue of the operations were so differently represented by officers of the Prussian and Austrian staff as to lead to several duels. The duke of Brunswick resigned his command. "I have no hope," he wrote to the king, on the 6th of January, 1794, "that a third campaign will be productive of more advantageous results, since the same causes that have hitherto divided the allied powers, delayed the movements of the armies, and prevented proper measures, will continue to do so. I am not afraid of the war, but I dread the disgrace which it is difficult to avoid in a situation where the faults of other generals fall upon

me, and where I cannot act either according to my principles or according to my own views. Prudence commands and honour advises my retirement. When a great nation, like the French, is incited by terror and enthusiasm to mighty efforts, the steps of the allies ought by right to be governed by one will and one principle; but when, instead of this, each army acts for itself alone, without fixed plan, without unity, without principle, and without method, the results must always be such as we have seen at Dunkirk, at Maubeuge, at Lyons, at Toulon, and at Landau."

Hoche, nevertheless, had well nigh paid for his successes with his head. He had been required, before the close of the campaign, to drive the Austrians out of the electorate of Treves, but this he represented to be impracticable on account of the exhausted state of his troops. He was recalled to Paris, upon the pretext that he was to be appointed to the command of another army, and on his arrival thrown into prison, from which he was not released till the fall of Robespierre. Kellermann also was summoned to the bar of the Convention, on account of the too great mildness of his measures against Lyons, and it was only by means of powerful intercessors that he escaped the like fate; so meanly did the lawyers, who had now usurped the supreme authority, estimate talents and merits not possessed by themselves! And yet they never wanted generals who, with the scaffold before their eyes, vied with each other in achieving triumphs for them and for the cutthroats of France.

Many even of those persons who, during the successes of the allies on the Rhine and in Belgium had still their misgivings as to the issue of the campaign, had ventured to hope, on seeing Toulon in the hands of the English, that the revolution might be checked from that point. The Convention showed its sense of the im-

portance of this seaport, by sending general Brunot, who commanded the army opposed to the Piedmontese, and had thought that he should weaken himself too much by detaching troops to this quarter, before the revolutionary tribunal, to receive his doom; and the popular societies vied with each other in forming plans for recovering the place. The levy *en masse* was principally directed against the enemy who had planted himself so near to the heart of the republic. In the south as well as the north, the high expectations of the powers were destined to be disappointed.

The English in Toulon were reinforced by Spaniards, Piedmontese, and Neapolitans; but for two months, while Lyons was besieged by the army of the Convention, and Toulon merely observed by a small force under generals Cartaux and Lapoype, they took no vigorous measures capable of exciting confidence; even the royalists, who had put them in possession of the place, were mortified when they perceived that their deliverers and protectors, who had caused Louis XVII. to be proclaimed, directed their principal attention to the ships and naval stores in that port. Between the English and Spanish commanders there was as little unity of purpose as there was unity of command between the naval and land forces. On the other hand, the difficulty of retaking so strong a place, defended by a numerous garrison, in the worst season of the year, appeared so serious that the deputies of the Convention, who, after the fall of Lyons, joined the army before Toulon, which had received great reinforcements, proposed to raise the siege and to leave the enemy to feed Provence, which was totally devastated.

The command was at first vested in Cartaux, a painter, originally an officer of the national guard at Paris, and who had become, in one day, during the operations

against Marseilles, general of brigade and of division, without knowing any thing about war. Being recalled for incapacity, he was succeeded by Doppet, a surgeon, who, though Lyons had surrendered to him, was as ignorant of the military art as Cartaux, and had not even personal courage. But, along with these incompetent commanders, there was in this army a young officer, Napoleon Bonaparte, who, from the high opinion which Carnot had formed of his abilities, was sent to it as commandant of the artillery. He soon discovered the vast importance of a promontory commanding the harbour, but could not prevail upon the general-in-chief to occupy it. At length the English also discovered the value of this point, and by means of a chain of forts turned it into a little Gibraltar; on which the French commanders and the deputies of the Convention assented to the erection of a battery against it.

Meanwhile the brave Dugommier, who had seen fifty years' service, superseded Doppet, because the soldiers either murmured or laughed at the transformation of painters and surgeons into generals; and Gasparin, the deputy, who was himself a soldier, made strong remonstrances to the Committee of Welfare. Soon after the arrival of the new general, on the 20th of November, the battery, being completed, opened its fire on Fort Malbosquet, the key to Little Gibraltar. General O'Hara, who commanded the land-forces of the allies, aware of the danger, made a sortie from the city with six thousand men, and stormed this battery; but, when in possession of it, being annoyed by a firing from a thicket, and conceiving that it proceeded from his own men, he went into the thicket to stop it. There he was wounded by a French subaltern, made prisoner, and carried off. His troops, staggered by the sudden and unaccountable disappearance of their leader, were still

more astonished when they found themselves turned and cut off from the city; and it was not without considerable loss that they fought their way through the enemy.

The people of Toulon, nevertheless, considered themselves perfectly safe, because day after day there was no fighting but for distant forts, and no formal siege was opened. It was a considerable time before Dugommier could decide upon the assault of Malbosquet and Little Gibraltar. Every one doubted its success, and the deputies of the Convention, usually so confident, called a council of war at the moment for action, that, in case of failure, they might be able to throw the blame on the general and the commandant of the artillery, who was the real projector of the bold design. The fire with which the assailants were received was, in fact, so vehement, that Dugommier, who always marched at the head of his column, fell back, and, in an exclamation of despair, declared that he was undone; for, if the attempt were to fail, he should, without doubt, have to mount the scaffold. From this fate he was saved by Captain Murion of the artillery, who, being acquainted with all the by-ways, fell upon the defenders of the fort with a battalion of chasseurs, and cut them in pieces. Once in possession of Malbosquet, the French turned its guns upon the English, who the same night abandoned, with needless precipitation, the fortified promontory, which from the first it had been the object of Bonaparte to secure. At daybreak on the following morning, when the French advanced to the assault, they found that post forsaken; and they were not in time to bring up artillery to play upon the English fleet in the road; for, as soon as Lord Hood saw that the enemy was in possession of that point, he made the signal for weighing anchor and getting out of the harbour. He then went to the city to represent to the other commanders that there was not a

moment to lose, or the allied army would be blocked up both by sea and land in Toulon. In the council of war held in consequence, the Spaniards made objections, and offered to undertake the defence of the forts and the city; but at last the evacuation was determined upon. Preparations were instantly made for burning the arsenal and those French ships which could not be carried off; and the inhabitants were informed, that such of them as chose to leave the place would be received on board the fleet. The possibility of such a hasty retreat had not been anticipated, and the consternation was in consequence extreme. The quays were covered with men, women, and children, seated upon their most valuable effects, and anxiously awaiting the arrival of the boats engaged in the embarkation. Some bombs thrown from Malbosquet having fallen among them, more than sixty persons leaped into the water, to reach the approaching boats, but perished with the exception of very few. In the night, the English blew up Fort Poné, and Sir Sidney Smith undertook the service of firing that part of the French fleet which could not be removed for want of hands. Sixteen ships of the line, partly of seventy-four guns, and five frigates, were in flames; the blazing arsenal resembled a volcano at the time of eruption; and this sight increased the fury of the assailants: the batteries kept up an incessant fire upon the road, and sunk several vessels filled with troops and fugitives.

At daybreak on the 19th of December, the English fleet was seen outside the road, and the republicans made their entry into the deserted town, in the streets of which they found only galley-slaves roving about with broken fetters. The first efforts were directed to the extinction of the fire in the ships and the arsenal, and with such success, that most of the former, and many of

the important works of the latter, were saved. The next business was to slaughter the inhabitants who were left behind; and when Dugommier put a stop to the carnage, he only afforded the more extensive scope to the butchers of the Convention. A single trait may convey some idea of the atrocities in which they indulged. One day, a great number of the people of Toulon, having been collected in a public place and mowed down with grape-shot, the deputy, who superintended the massacre, cried out, "Those who are not dead may rise; the republic forgives them." Several of the unfortunate wretches extricated themselves with difficulty from the heap of victims; and orders were instantly issued to fire upon them again. The Convention decreed that Toulon should be destroyed, that it should thenceforth be merely a depot for ships, and be called the Port of the Mountain. The absurdity of this insane decree did not prevent a beginning, at least, from being made to carry it into execution, and several houses were pulled down to be rebuilt soon afterwards. On the 30th of December, the republic celebrated the recovery of Toulon by a pageant, exhibiting the triumphal cars of fourteen different armies, which had fought victoriously against enemies, internal and external.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE REIGN OF TERROR.

Liberty, in whose name the French armies fought, as in the delirium of fever, and conquered, was in fact the most oppressive slavery; and, never since the establishment of Christian states, had a heavier yoke been imposed upon a nation than the unlimited power exercised by

the Committee of Welfare. While eastern despots are obliged to respect religious precepts and the force of custom, the men who ruled in the name of liberty, despising religion, manners, and usages, as ecclesiastical, moral, and social superstition, declared all mental restraints, all historical forms of the state, all rights of individuals, annulled, and exemplified the exclusive rule of matter, in sacrificing men, as material objects of nature, to the deified idea of the public weal. In vain do the French now strive to wipe away this stain in the national history, by alleging that nothing but these gigantic measures could have saved the country from invasion, subjugation, and dismemberment. France was not saved by the butchery of defenceless citizens, women, and children, perpetrated by command of the Committee of Welfare, or by the robberies which only served to fill the pockets of individual plunderers, but by the faults of the hostile cabinets and generals; and the sequel has shown that an invasion, great as might be the momentary sufferings which it occasioned, was, nevertheless, the best course for pacifying the nation by the restoration of the legitimate government, and for establishing a durable constitution on a permanent basis.

The head of the Committee of Welfare was Robespierre, though not equal in energy to the impetuous Danton, or in the powers of revolutionary elocution to the ready-tongued Barrère, or in rage for blood to the sanguinary Collot d'Herbois and Billaud-Varennes, or, least of all, in military intelligence to Carnot. This preponderance of moderate talent was grounded on his power over the multitude, and that power on the reputation of sincere and disinterested friendship for the people, which he had acquired in the first National Assembly, and which he had contrived to unite with the dignity of a legislator. His features were vulgar, his complexion

pale; his style of oratory obscure and confused; and in critical moments he shewed himself deficient in courage; but he understood the art of securing the reverence of the populace, to whom his creatures soon became obnoxious, as a being of a higher order; and to this end he did not despise external elegance, at the time when others sought to recommend themselves by squalidness in dress and coarseness in language and manners.

Great, however, as was the influence of this decemvir, unlimited as was the power of the Committee of Welfare governed by him, yet both hung upon a slender thread; and it was a difficult task, amidst the storm of passions and parties, to preserve it unbroken. The holders of power had no other means of accomplishing this but terror; the obedience produced in a well-regulated state by habit in the governed, and by their respect for the rights of the authorities, was not to be enforced, under the unnatural system of liberty and equality, which had flung off these restraints, but by an unsparing use of power and its companion, fear.

In regard to form, this tyrannical government consisted of a number of committees of the Convention, which, after the abolition of the Executive Council composed of ministers, divided the business of the public administration among them, but were all dependent on the Committee of Welfare. These committees were not yet absolutely devoted to Jacobinism. The Committee of Welfare displayed for some time a certain moderation. It assumed a formidable character after the appointment in July of new members, whose number was limited to nine. These were, from that time till the end of the year, Jean Bon St. André, Barrère, Couthon, Thuriot, St. Just, Prieur of La Marne, Hereult Sechelles, Robert Lindet, and, after the 27th of July, Robespierre, instead of Gasparin. The Committee of Safety, composed

chiefly of enemies to the Gironde, among whom were Bazire, Legendre, Tallien, Duhem, Chabot, failed at first to keep pace with the impetuosity of the Jacobins. The Committee of Legislation, to which belonged Barrère, Cambon, Danton, Lacroix, and which was filled up by the addition of St. Just, Couthon, Herault Sechelles, and two others, had no perceptible influence upon the events of the day. But for its participation in the Jacobin system of terror, the Committee of Public Relief showed a beneficent character. The Committee of Public Instruction lost several distinguished members by the fall of the Gironde, and by the interference of Robespierre its purpose was in a short time perverted.

In the Jacobin club Robespierre reigned without rival: Marat and Danton gave way to him. A violent death removed the one, while the other was accused of having become mild and indulgent, and not keeping up with the revolution. The most zealous adherents of Robespierre were St. Just and Couthon; while Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Chaumette, Hebert, vied with him in devising accusations, and in the development of terrorism. Accusation, in fact, was the principal study and the political occupation of the Jacobins; and in this art Robespierre was a master. He frequently complained of bodily weakness, and intimated that he should be obliged to retire from public life; but he was always hearty enough to make speeches, whenever opportunity offered to excite suspicion or to prefer charges. He strove at the same time to give method to the Jacobin domination, to raise the populace against the middle class; reserving to himself the task of framing a regular system of government out of the results of anarchy. His watchword, "virtue and probity," was often heard among the Jacobins, and these, imitating him, sought to represent themselves as a society of immaculate friends

of virtue; they condemned luxurious indulgences and dissipated pleasures, but more particularly selfishness and peculation.

Chaumette and Hebert were the leaders of the municipality. Their ambition extended beyond these bounds; the supreme authority over all France appeared to them not unattainable. The senate of Rome, a city authority, had of old ruled the Roman republic; why should not the municipality of Paris take a pattern from it? Chaumette and Hebert felt themselves not strong enough to stand forward publicly as rivals of Robespierre; but privately they laboured to counteract him. They had supporters in the sections, but these too were influenced by Robespierre's adherents. If, like him, they strove to introduce a certain regularity of revolutionary movements and efforts, instead of anarchical paroxysms, so they had in their train a pestilent fermenting mass of "*Enragés*," who were ready to run into excess in everything. The leaders of this party were the brutal Jaques Roux, Varlet, Vincent, and Le Clerc. The apprehensions of the proposal of an agrarian law, manifested on several occasions, for which, on the motion of Barrère, was decreed the penalty of death, seem to point to this party. Though their views and sentiments exactly coincided with those of Hebert and Chaumette, yet, when they became too violent, the latter were obliged to make common cause with the Jacobins, lest they should expose themselves to the charge of having abandoned the cause of "virtue and probity." The club of the Cordeliers was the strength of both; there they were upon an equal footing.

Sans-culottism was professed by the partisans of the Mountain generally. For two years past, sans-culotte had been a current term, which was soon employed to designate the whole party of the movement, and, when

that party gained the ascendency, became synonymous with patriot. Though it implied habits and manners the very reverse of those prevailing during the existence of royalty, yet in these points there was no uniformity among those who called themselves sans-culottes. The Gironde had disdained to adopt such-like party distinctions; but they had participated in the introduction of sans-culottism, that is, in the renunciation of conventional forms, in the use of the singular pronoun "thou," and in the abolition of the words *Monsieur* and *Madame*. Some of the deputies of the Convention thenceforth took the liberty to speak with their hats on; but, on Robespierre's motion, this practice was forbidden, in December, 1793. Sans-culottism in language, and in the most revolting contempt of the feelings of morality and decency, of which Hebert's Père Duchesne, and a rival publication with the same title, had hitherto been the representatives, found new disciples. These papers, especially Hebert's, were not seen merely in guard-houses and wine-shops, but on the toilets of the wealthy. To what a length absurdity was carried in the endeavour to erase every recollection connected with religion and feudalism, may be conceived from the fact, that there were fanatics who called the Rue St. Denys merely Nys. Of the ostentation of vulgarity and coarseness in manners, individual instances would fail to afford an adequate idea: suffice it, therefore, to observe, that elegance in external appearance was regarded as aristocratic.

The tools of this mob-government were the revolutionary armies and the revolutionary tribunals. The former, composed of the scum of the sans-culottes, of thieves, robbers, and murderers, marched from place to place, to execute with fire and sword the mandates of the committee, upon contumacious provinces and communes, accompanied moreover by abundance of moveable

guillotines; the latter—the revolutionary tribunals—established not only in all the sections of Paris, but in all the larger communes throughout France, despatched such individuals for whose condemnation some judicial forms were deemed necessary. The step between accusation before these fearful tribunals and condemnation and execution became shorter and shorter, especially since the confiscation of property attached to the punishment of death recommended the decapitation of public creditors and wealthy capitalists, as a sure way to enrich the State; so that Cambon, president of the Committee of Finance, might say, with cruel irony, but not the less truth, that as much money was coined by the guillotine in the Place de la Revolution, as in the Capuchin convent by the manufacture of assignats. Executioners now became important and courted personages.

On the motion of Merlin, of Douai, a decree was issued on the 17th of September, commanding the apprehension of all suspected persons, and specifying as such: 1. All those who, by their conduct, deeds, words, or writings, had proved themselves to be servants of tyranny and federalism, and enemies of liberty. 2. All who could not prove that they possessed the means requisite for their support, and for the fulfilment of their civic duties. 3. Those who could not produce attestations of civism. 4. All placemen out of office. 5. All *ci-devant* nobles, including the husbands, wives, parents, brothers and sisters, children, and agents of emigrants, unless they had constantly manifested attachment to the republic. 6. All those who had emigrated between the 1st of July, 1789, and the promulgation of the law of the 8th of April, 1792, even though they had returned within the time specified by that law.

It was evident that all the prisons in the country must be insufficient for the number of the suspected, embraced

by so sweeping a measure; on the motion of Collot d'Herbois, the Convention, nevertheless, added to the list all circulators of false news, and those who by forestalling raised the price of provisions. Herault de Sechelles also gained the applause of the Mountain by an amendment to the effect that the fathers and mothers of those who withdrew themselves from the levy should be apprehended as suspected persons. The thousands with whom the prisons were crowded in consequence of these decrees occasioned a motion of Barrère's, on the 26th of September, for empowering the revolutionary tribunals, without written proceedings and without listening to a defence, to pronounce sentence as soon as they were convinced of the guilt of the accused. Before this procedure was authorised by law, it was put in practice; and it was frequently the case, that the most intricate criminal cause occupied the judges no more than twenty-four hours.

Amidst these preparations, the Mountain stretched forth its hand against those upon whom the eyes of France and of Europe were fixed, with a view to prove, by the distinguished rank of its victims, how formidable it was. Persons of the most diverse parties and sentiments were now comprehended in one common accusation as enemies of the country. On the report of Amar, on the 3rd of October, a formal decree of accusation was issued against Brissot and the Girondists, with whom, singularly enough, were now associated Orleans and his adherents, Carra, Sillery, Fauchet, and others, who had formerly been eminent partisans. At the instigation of the Committee of Welfare, the Convention decreed the apprehension of the seventy-three deputies, whose protest against the lawless proceedings of the 30th of May and the 2nd of June had placed them, ever since the 13th of July, in the list of the suspected. At

the same time, on the motion of Billaud-Varennes, the revolutionary tribunal was directed to turn its attention in the following week to the case of the widow of Louis Capet, as a woman who was a disgrace to her sex and to human nature. The commencement of the proceedings was deferred, indeed, till the middle of October; but still the melancholy distinction of leading the train of victims was reserved for Marie Antoinette.

This most unfortunate of queens was removed, on the 3rd of July, from the Temple to the Conciergerie. She was roused in the middle of the night, to be parted from her disconsolate daughter. "I shall come back," said she to the weeping princess; "the French will feel that they have no right over a foreigner;" but such arguments were not likely to revive hopes in the daughter of Louis XVI. In her new prison no preparations of any kind had been made for Marie Antoinette. "What need of any?" said the municipal officer who accompanied her to the gaoler; "the most loathsome dungeon, and a truss of straw, are good enough for this woman." The gaoler, however, was more humane; he resigned his own lodging to her for the night, gave her in the morning a spacious room, and took care, not without danger, to supply her with better fare. In these kind offices he was assisted by a young woman, named Fouché, who, though she had never been in any way connected with the queen or the court, now gained access by stealth to the prisoner, and won her confidence. She even contrived to introduce a nonjuring ecclesiastic into the prison, to administer the consolations of religion to the unfortunate princess. The furniture of her place of confinement consisted of a mean camp-bed, a straw-bottomed arm-chair, and a small table; and the room was divided by a curtain and a screen into two parts, in the outer of which four gendarmes were constantly on duty. She

herself looked old and wrinkled, resembling, in her 39th year, the portrait of her mother Maria Theresa, painted just at the close of her life.

In this abode Marie Antoinette had passed three months, when, on the 15th of October, she was summoned before the sanguinary tribunal. Having answered the usual questions concerning name, condition, and age, Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, read the act of accusation, which set out with alleging that Marie Antoinette, after the example of the Messalinas, the Brunhildas, the Fredegundas, and the Medicis, who had once been called queens of France, had, ever since she came to that country, been a scourge and a bloodsucker to the people; that, even before the happy revolution, which had restored liberty to the French, she had been in communication with the *soi-disant* king of Hungary and Bohemia; that, in concert with the brothers of Louis Capet and with Calonne, she had squandered the revenues of France, the fruits of the toil of the people, in the gratification of degrading passions, and in paying the agents of her criminal intrigues. It then proceeded to repeat the charges previously preferred against the king, concerning secret manœuvres against the liberty of the people, and the blood spilt on the 10th of August. Among others, Lafayette was called her favourite, and it was asserted that he and Bailly had facilitated the flight to Varennes, in June, 1791.

In the examination founded on these documents, Marie Antoinette answered all questions with such precision and presence of mind, that one is almost astonished at the pains which she took to prove her innocence before such judges. As a mother, however, she felt, if not a wish, yet that it was a duty to live. Hebert accused her of having committed with her own son a crime from which nature revolts. At first she passed over this point in

silence, and the president of the tribunal seemed pleased that she had done so; but when Hebert reverted to it, she indignantly turned to the auditory and exclaimed: "I appeal to all the mothers here present, and challenge them to declare whether there is one among them who is not thrilled with horror at the mere idea of such an enormity." The very furies of the galleries felt the force of this appeal, and expressed compassion; on which account Robespierre, to whom the circumstance was mentioned while he was at dinner, dashed his plate in pieces with rage, crying, "Was it not enough for that silly Hebert to represent Marie Antoinette as a Messalina? Why must he strive to make her an Agrippina too, and thus afford her, in her last moments, the consolation of having excited the pity of the people!"

The examination lasted the whole day and the ensuing night, during which she was allowed no refreshment, as though her persecutors expected, by bodily weakness, to produce a corresponding debility of mind. A compassionate gendarme, who, at her repeated request, procured her a glass of water, was reprimanded for it by the court. Still she retained her firmness, except for a moment, when Hebert's atrocious imputation wrung a tear from her eye. During the first hours, she was seen to move her fingers on the arm of the chair, apparently in a state of abstraction. On being brought back to the court, from which she had been removed while the judges gave their votes, and asked whether she had any objection to make against the application of the laws appealed to by the public accuser against her, she shook her head, and then listened, without any sign of emotion, to the sentence which condemned her to death, and which was ordered to be carried into execution the same morning; nor was it till she had reached her prison, about half-past five o'clock, that the anguish of her heart vented

itself in a flood of tears. During the proceedings in court, she had suffered from the cold; she therefore went to bed, and slept soundly for some hours. She was awakened by a priest, who had taken the oath, who was sent to prepare her for death. He began what he had to say with the words: "You are about to atone by your death—"—"Yes," said she, interrupting him, "for the faults that I have committed, but not for any crimes." She refused his spiritual assistance, having previously confessed to a nonjuring priest from La Vendée. In a letter which she wrote to her sister-in-law, but which did not reach its destination, and was found, in 1814, among the papers of the ex-deputy Courtois, she took leave of this beloved friend, and once more recommended her children to her care. "Think always of me. I embrace thee, and my poor dear children. My God, how painful it is to be forced to leave them for ever!"

Though the reigning tyrants affected to consider her as an ordinary criminal, still the armed force was ordered out by five o'clock, and all the streets and bridges leading to the Place de la Revolution were occupied by troops and artillery. About eleven, she was informed that everything was ready, and she was either forced or persuaded to change the black dress which she had worn ever since the death of the king for an old white bedgown. She had hoped to be conveyed, like the king, with decency at least to the place of execution; but at the gate of her prison she found only a common cart, and before she got into it her hands were tied behind her. The gendarmes who escorted her were selected from among the most outrageous sans-culottes, while the furies of the guillotine, and the scum of the rabble, ran on either side, shouting, "Down with the tyrant! the republic for ever!" Grammont, the actor, with drawn sword, excited the populace to join in those cries. The

queen looked on all that passed as though it had been a play; she spoke but little with the priest who, in lay costume, was seated by her; the tri-coloured flags, and the ridiculous inscriptions in the republican jargon, exhibited on the houses, appeared to engage her attention. On her arrival at the Place de la Revolution, the Tuileries met her eye, and deep emotion was perceptible in her countenance. She lightly ascended the steps to the scaffold, and the last strong sensation that she betrayed was when the executioner first took off her neckerchief, and then her cap. About a quarter after twelve her head fell; it was exhibited to the people, amidst shouts of "*Vive la République!*" and conveyed, with the body, to the same pit filled with lime in the Magdalen churchyard which had received the remains of her ill-fated husband.

Eight days afterwards, on the 24th of October, commenced the proceedings against twenty-one of the accused deputies, including some of the most eminent of the Girondists. They were charged with participating in the treason of Dumouriez, exciting the insurrections in Lyons and Marseilles, endeavouring to dissolve the municipality of Paris, bringing an armed force from the departments, striving to avert the deposition of the tyrant, corresponding with Brunswick and Coburg, being cognizant of the murder of Marat, corrupting the public opinion, voting for an appeal to the people in the trial of Louis, negociating with Lord Hood, and protecting the ministers Narbonne, Chambonas, Lebrun, and Clavière. Proofs of guilt were either wholly wanting, or insufficient. Brissot and Vergniaud defended their republican spirit against the charge of royalist and federalist principles with such energy that the judges were embarrassed, and sent word to the Convention that they could not answer for the issue of the trial, if the examination

of witnesses were continued, and the accused allowed to reply. The Mountain immediately resolved that the prisoners should not be suffered to make any further defence; and that the jury should be authorised to close the proceedings as soon as they conceived themselves to be sufficiently instructed. The examination was in consequence discontinued, and, at eleven at night, on the 30th of October, after a consultation of three hours, sentence of death was passed. The prisoners, who had not imagined the possibility of condemnation, were furious; some of them demonstrated how grossly the law was perverted, others launched out against the baseness of the judges, till the latter called the gendarmes to take them away. Before they left the hall of the tribunal, Valazé plunged a dagger into his bosom, and expired, declaring that he would die a free man. The others passed the night in their prison, under the self-delusions of despair. They sang merry songs. Vergniaud declaimed alternately humorous poems and fragments of that stirring eloquence which had contributed so largely to establish the rule of liberty, in whose name he was about to be sacrificed. Ducos and Fonfrede, young men of large fortune, the former of whom had, of his own accord, accompanied his brother-in-law to prison, that he might share his fate, were at first overcome with grief, when they thought of their wives and children, who would be robbed in the name of the nation of all they possessed; but afterwards forgot both themselves and their families, under the intoxicating influence which republican phrases still exercised. In order to cheer them, Vergniaud delivered a phial of poison, by means of which he had purposed to elude the triumph of his enemies, to the officer on guard. Brissot and Gensonné only were serious and thoughtful.

"On the following morning, the 31st of October, they

were conveyed to the scaffold, and the corpse of Valazé along with them. They arrived, singing a stanza of the Marseillaise, slightly altered for the occasion:

Allons, enfans de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé,
Contre nous de la tyrannie
Le couteau sanglant est levé.

Ducos, who was remarkable for witty sallies, observed to Boyer Fonfrede, as they alighted from the cart: "There is now but one thing that can save us—to make the Convention decree the unity and indivisibility of heads." All of them met their fate with great firmness. By one o'clock, the slaughter of the most accomplished and the most well-meaning of those who had leagued with the monster Revolution was consummated.

Meanwhile, Robespierre had ordered Orleans to be brought from Marseilles. Though he had been tried there, and acquitted by the judges, he had nevertheless been detained in prison. He addressed to the Convention a petition praying for his release, but that assembly passed to the order of the day. His former adherents could not guess what the dictator intended to do with the prisoner, and none of them thought it worth while to incur his displeasure by unseasonable inquiries. Danton had returned to his native town, Arcis-sur-Aube, to enjoy himself. Robespierre had determined to get rid of a man whose birth and former popularity might give him the shadow of a claim to the supreme authority. On his arrival in Paris, he was consigned to the same room in the Conciergerie which had been the prison of Marie Antoinette. Here he passed his time in drinking champagne, till, on the 6th of November, he was summoned before the revolutionary tribunal. Fouquier-Tinville put a number of questions to him: in what way he had been connected with Dumouriez and with the

Girondists; why he had sent his daughter to England; for what reason he had voted for the death of the tyrant, especially as Sillery, his confidant, had given a contrary vote. To the last question, Orleans replied that he had voted according to duty and conscience. In vain did Voidel, his counsel, exert himself to demonstrate the prisoner's patriotism from the sacrifices which he had made in the cause of the people. The result of the brief consultation of the tribunal was the condemnation of the accused.

He was immediately put into the cart with four other prisoners, and conveyed to the place of execution. At the Palais Royal the vehicle halted. Orleans fixed his eyes on his late residence, and, as he read the new inscriptions attached to the edifice, the motion of his lips accompanied the words. It is said that he expected a popular commotion, prepared by his adherents to break out on a concerted signal; that Robespierre, who lived in the neighbourhood, was to be murdered, and he himself carried, as dictator or protector, to the Convention; that armed men were concealed in the adjacent houses; and that several of the gendarmes who escorted him were in the plot. But, whether he had been flattered with vain hopes, or the plan miscarried through irresolution or mischance—it is alleged that those concerned in it were disconcerted by the circumstance that Robespierre did not return home at the expected time—no signal was given, and in a few minutes the cart proceeded on its way. Orleans now turned to the priest who, in lay costume, accompanied the prisoners, and received absolution. On reaching the goal, so different from that pictured by his ambition, he, who had on all occasions previously exhibited a want of courage, confronted certain death with the greatest composure. On looking down from the scaffold at the bloody pit into which his head was to fall, he said, in a tone of indif-

ference, "this precipice is just as good as the other,"—in allusion, probably, to that precipice upon which the throne he aspired to would have stood.

After the fall of the leaders, the fatal machine was plied more briskly, to despatch the remains of the parties. The authors, patrons, and promoters of the revolution, found themselves seized, one after another, by that savage power which they had let loose; but it was only a small portion of them whose infatuation was dispelled by the aspect of death. This sight began, as in the field of battle, to lose its horrors from the force of habit, and the number of interesting victims imparted a charm to the feeling of excitement, which increased in proportion as life under the yoke of republican tyranny lost all zest. On the 10th of November, Jeanne Roland, the wife of the ex-minister, was executed. This highly-gifted woman, who had performed an important part under the Girondists, who had not rarely guided their deliberations, and several times wielded the pen for her husband, had been confined ever since the downfall of her party in the prison of the Abbaye, and employed her leisure in writing memoirs of her youth and of her political career. At the age of thirty-nine she was still handsome; she had carefully dressed herself in white, and, though she left behind her a daughter of thirteen totally destitute, still she maintained not merely a calm but even a cheerful look, to do honour to the philosophy which she professed, and at the same time to infuse courage into a husband who was to have died with her, but could not face death with such firmness as she did.

When several persons were executed together, it was a privilege to die first, so as not to hear the falling of the axe and the trickling of the blood. This privilege was awarded to Madame Roland, on account of her sex;

but, perceiving the dejection and despair of her companion in misfortune, she begged the executioner to take him first, adding that he would surely not refuse the last request of a lady. On seeing a gigantic image of Liberty which was set up near the guillotine, she exclaimed: "Oh, Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!" A few days afterwards, Roland, who had concealed himself at Rouen, quitted his hiding-place, lest he should implicate his friend, and put an end to his life on the high road to Paris. His former colleague, Clavière, likewise committed suicide in prison, and his wife followed his example.

Condorcet, who at the trial of the king had, out of philanthropy, voted for the punishment of the galleys, after wandering about in the vicinity of Paris in the guise of a beggar, among the once so pleasant villas whose owners were now either in prison, or doomed to it, was discovered, in a public-house to which hunger had driven him, to be an outlaw, and had but just time to swallow the potent poison which he carried about him. Lebrun, the friend of Brissot and successor of Dumouriez as minister for foreign affairs, was sent to the guillotine; Girey-Duprey and Bois-Guyon, two Girondists, apprehended at Bordeaux, underwent the same fate. Rabaut St. Etienne, who had been president of the Commission of Twelve, appointed by the Convention to inquire into the conspiracies of the Jacobins, had kept himself concealed at the house of a friend in Paris ever since the 2nd of June, till his wife, being met and recognized by Fabre d'Eglantine, and rendered communicative by assurances of friendship and sympathy, mentioned where he was; when the man who had promised to be their protector hastened to denounce them. Rabaut was in consequence apprehended and executed, and his unfortunate wife laid violent hands on

herself. The family which had sheltered him atoned for the offence with their lives.

Bailly, formerly mayor of Paris, on relinquishing office, had retired first to Nantes, and, on the commencement of the atrocities there, to Melun, where he was seized by the revolutionary army, carried to Paris, and condemned on the 10th of November. His crime was that, on the 17th of July, 1791, he had proclaimed martial law in order to quell the insurrection raised by the Jacobins, and ordered the red flag to be hoisted; it was therefore directed that he should be executed in the Champ de Mars, where the national guard had fired on the assembled rabble. When he reached the scaffold, some of the spectators observed that the Champ de Mars, where excellent citizens had fallen in so good a cause, ought not to be polluted by the blood of a traitor: the scaffold was immediately taken down, and set up again on the bank of the Seine. This removal occasioned a delay of several hours, during which Bailly was exposed to the grossest ill usage from the horde of miscreants who regularly attended the public executions. Among other things, they compelled him to assist in carrying the implements of death to the new place appointed for them. A cold rain, which wetted him to the skin, added to his sufferings. "Thou tremblest, Bailly," said one of his tormentors. "Yes," was his reply, "I tremble with cold."

A few weeks afterwards, Manuel and Barnave were executed. The latter, as a member of the first National Assembly, had been a zealous colleague of Mirabeau's in overturning the throne, and had gained unenviable reputation by asking, on occasion of the first sanguinary scenes in Paris, whether the blood of the aristocrats which had been spilt was so pure as to deserve so much fuss to be made about it. Subsequently, as one of the

deputies commissioned to bring the royal family back from Varennes, he was won by the confidence of the queen, and thenceforth strove by his counsels, tending to a sincere union of the court with the partisans of the constitution and the moderate friends of liberty, to avert the melancholy fate of the royal house. Foiled in these efforts, and finding that the queen placed all her hopes on foreign aid, he was convinced of the impossibility of saving her, and resolved to quit Paris. On taking leave, he predicted her fate and his own, and solicited, as the sole reward of his exertions, the favour of kissing her hand. Marie Antoinette extended it to him, with tears. Long suspected by the Jacobins, he was apprehended on the ground of various papers found in the king's closet; his condemnation was not doubtful, and the eloquent defence which he made of no avail. So frightful had become the number of those sentenced daily by the sanguinary tribunal, that even distinguished persons, if no particular circumstances attended their fate, ceased to be noticed; and thus, in many histories of the French revolution, the death of Barnave and Manuel is not mentioned.

This system of slaughter, however, had not yet attained its highest point, and out of Paris it was carried on in a still more revolting manner. The cruelties perpetrated about this time by Carrier, at Nantes, have already been adverted to on occasion of the war in La Vendée. He was equalled in barbarity by Lebon, formerly a priest, and his tiger-like wife, at Arras, the birthplace of Robespierre, and at Cambray. Till 1793, the conduct of Lebon was irreproachable. His mission commenced in the October of that year, and lasted till the middle of the next. Dissatisfied with him at first, the Committee of Welfare urged him to use greater severity, and thenceforward he manifested the

spirit of a demon. The prisons of Arras were crowded with suspected persons; the guillotine was in permanence, and the most revolting frivolity of tyrannical caprice was blended with the thirst of blood. The presence of the Austrians in this department during the summer and autumn afforded the monster a welcome pretext for apprehending and sending to the scaffold, as friends to them, all who had had any intercourse, no matter how compulsory, with the enemy. Because the mother of an idiot unfit for military service brought to him, as she was directed to do, a certificate of his disqualification, he, by way of deterring all those who wished to obtain exemption from the service, caused the young man, his father, mother, and sister, together with the mayor and his clerk who had furnished the certificate, to be executed on one day. A travelling mechanic, whom he observed making the sign of the cross in the high road, during a violent thunder-storm, was seized as a dangerous person, who might even be a disguised priest, and sent to the guillotine.

Lebon himself was always on the scaffold, and increased by ingenious torments the sufferings of those who were doomed to die. Like the voluptuaries bred in the mire of the capital, he took delight in the despair of agonized females and in the convulsions of the dying. A young woman having transgressed his prohibition to wear better clothes than ordinary on a Sunday, he ordered her to be stripped naked in the public street, and in that state conducted to prison through the whole town. When mention was made in the Convention of these atrocities, Barrère quashed the investigation by observing that "Lebon's principal fault consisted in rather harsh forms."

Of the other tools of Terrorism, who visited the departments with extortions, apprehensions, and executions,

who demoralized them by sans-culotte licentiousness, and profaned everything that religion rendered sacred, a long list might be named. Lequinio, sent with Laignelot to Rochefort, reported to the Convention to begin with, that he had done away with a prejudice, invited the executioner to dinner, and given him his instructions at table. He afterwards turned the guillotine into a rostrum, compelling women to mount to it and paddle through the blood of their relatives and friends. The executioner passed from the fatal instrument to popular assemblies at which he presided.

Jean Bon St. André, who was sent to Brest, proved himself a zealous disciple of Terrorism, but the principal guilt there attached to the revolutionary tribunal appointed by him, the president of which, Ragney, and several of the judges were savage ruffians. One of these, Raoul, persuaded the father of General Moreau to pay the debt of an emigrant, and then played the part of both accuser and judge.

Bo, Hentz, Levasseur, and Massieu, conducted jointly the trial of the former municipality of Sedan which had favoured Lafayette's plans in August, 1792; the mayor and twenty-five municipal officers were guillotined. At Angers, Laplanche called upon the women, single or otherwise, to throw themselves into the arms of men, for the republic needed defenders. At Besançon, Lejeune spilt human blood profusely: he had a guillotine in miniature made, and beheaded his poultry with it: his wife wore small guillotines as ear-rings.

Lacoste and Baudet wrote from Alsace: "We promise to take care of the aristocrats and the cursed Alsatians: but for the law concerning the revolutionary tribunal, we should have made a capital fricassee by this time."

Piorry, in writing to the popular society at Poitiers,

uses this language: "I have obtained for you the patriot Ingrand: with this *b*—of a Mountaineer, you may destroy, overthrow, burn, transport, guillotine, regenerate—in short, do anything. Let him not wait a moment."

The gloomy enthusiast St. Just, accompanied by Lebas, a man of milder disposition, as commissioner in the Upper Rhine, spread terror to Strasburg and Alsace. Here an atrocious wretch, the ex-priest Eulogius Schneider, had, as public accuser to the revolutionary tribunal, with the most revolting brutality and insult, sent victims to the guillotine, while revelling himself in the grossest debaucheries. St. Just ordered him to be bound to the guillotine and exposed to public view; he then despatched him to Paris, where after some time he was executed, not for his excessive cruelty, but because he was suspected to have been in correspondence with Austria. His rival Monet, and a municipality ready to go any lengths, now became, in his stead, under St. Just's protection, the tyrants of the commune. It was not, however, the effusion of blood that rendered St. Just's memory pre-eminently terrible, and drove many thousands of the inhabitants of Strasburg and the environs into foreign countries; but rather the most intolerable oppression in the assessment of contributions. To this was added, on the part of the municipality, a vulgar persecution of all connected with the higher interests of man. The professors and schoolmasters were imprisoned; the public library was shut up and converted into a magazine for forage; sculptures were hewn away from the front of the cathedral; indeed Teteral, in the spirit of Chaumette and his crew, insisted on the demolition of the steeple, and nothing but the difficulty of the work prevented its execution.

A monster not less sanguinary than any of the pre-

ceding was Maignet, whose cruelties, though belonging by right to the year 1794, may be properly noticed here along with those perpetrated by the other agents of Terrorism. Maignet, a confidant of Robespierre's, had the departments of Vaucluse and Bouches du Rhone assigned for his sphere of action. Though recent investigations have relieved him from some portion of the load of guilt with which he was charged; though it has been alleged in his favour that he put a stop to the excesses of Jourdan, the headsman, and his crew at Avignon, and brought that ruffian himself to the guillotine; still he showed a barbarous zeal and a cruel contempt of humanity in executing the mandates transmitted to him from Paris. He reported to the Committee of Welfare that in the two departments from twelve to fifteen thousand persons were apprehended, and solicited authority to erect a revolutionary tribunal; for a law had been previously enacted that all conspirators should be sent to Paris. By virtue of an ordonnance of the Committee of Welfare, a popular commission was in consequence established at Orange; Payan, a creature of Robespierre's, selected the members, and took pains to instruct them in his revolutionary principles. With this commission, and under the directions of the Committees of Welfare and Safety, especially of Billaud Varennes, Vadier, and Carnot, Maignet fell to work, and caused more than five hundred persons to be executed in Orange. The tree of liberty in the village of Bedouin having been thrown down in the night, he ordered the whole place to be burned and sixty-three persons to be guillotined. After the fall of Robespierre he was recalled, but the amnesty issued by the Convention saved him, with many of the other agents of Terror, from being called to account for his misdeeds.

Thus there was scarcely a town in France where tears

and blood were not shed in torrents. In each there was a revolutionary tribunal, composed of judges sent or recommended by the Committee in Paris. The instrument of death, invented for the punishment of crime, multiplied like a poisonous plant. It was a conspiracy of fury and insanity against innocence, genius, and virtue, an insurrection of robbers actuated by revenge and the basest passions against rightful owners. Marat had demanded 270,000 heads; the Jacobins now talked of millions who must be slaughtered in order to ensure liberty: and it seemed daily less improbable that their plan was, as reported, to exterminate one half of the population of France for the purpose of procuring a more comfortable existence for the other, or to destroy by degrees the old generation, too much wedded to the usages of slavery, and to reserve the fruit of the tree of liberty for a younger race more susceptible to the new order of things.

The decencies of external appearance and the polished manners, on which the French nation had hitherto pre-eminently prided itself, now gave place to a studied neglect in dress and coarse vulgarity in demeanour; and no one could recognize in the barbarians of the revolution the same people who, but a few years before, had boasted of being the most elegant and the most civilized on the face of the earth. The very name of sans-culotte, which the republicans had assumed, was characteristic. All customs, all expressions, which denoted any approach to decency, to fortune, and to education, were proscribed. The foreigner, on coming to Paris, beheld in the streets none but men of savage, repulsive appearance, none but women of shameless and disgusting exterior; he heard nothing but the coarsest language, vulgar oaths, and horrible execrations.

To do away with everything that might remind people

of the former order of things, a new calendar, changing at once both the year and the day, was introduced in October, 1793. It commenced with the 22nd of September, 1792, which was considered as the first day of the republic, because the National Convention had met on the 21st, and decreed the abolition of royalty. "On the same day," said the reporter, Fabre d'Eglantine, "the sun marked the autumnal equinox by entering the sign of the Balance. The equality of day and night was denoted in the heavens at the same moment that civil and moral equality was established by the representatives of the French people as the sacred pillar of its constitution. Thus the sun shed his light at once on both poles, and by degrees upon the whole earth, on the same day that the torch of freedom threw for the first time its full refulgence on the French people." The simile expressed aptly enough the brief duration of the fantastic reign of equality.

According to this new calendar, every month was to consist of thirty days, divided into three equal parts called Decades, each day not into twenty-four hours, but into ten intervals, and each of these again into ten smaller. Six intercalary days, called sans-culottides, were to be dedicated as national festivals to Virtue, Genius, Labour, Public Opinion, and Reward; while the last, the festival of the Revolution, was to be held with particular solemnity, and then the oath was to be repeated to live and die for liberty. The names of the months were borrowed from the phenomena and the productions of the seasons; for autumn, Vendemiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire; for winter, Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose; for spring, Germinal, Floreal, Prairial; for summer, Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor: the names of the individual days were numbered from one to ten. Instead of the names of saints, those of seeds, plants, trees, roots,

flowers, fruit, domestic animals, and agricultural implements were attached to the days, and the commission appointed for the purpose made an extraordinary merit of the paltry idea of having pointed out to the labourer, on his day of rest, the tool that he was to take up the next morning. In spite, however, of all its boasted excellence, the new calendar never gained currency among the people; and, as soon as the fear of the sanguinary tribunal which enforced its observance was past, it sank into disuse.

The cultivation of the understanding, learning of every kind, were proscribed, because the vulgar rulers perceived, to their mortification, that these carried with them the antidote to their own errors. Hence their hatred of knowledge, and of all institutions and foundations for scientific objects. Not only the university of Paris, with its faculties, but all academies and literary societies were suppressed, and the botanic gardens, the cabinets, the museum, and the public libraries were placed under the superintendence of the committee of education, in which Hebert, Chaumette, and Anacharsis Cloots were leading persons. Chabot expressed the sentiments of this party, when he opposed a plan of instruction which was brought forward, on the ground that learning led to aristocracy, while the republic needed only the democracy of the sans-culottes. Bazire, on the other hand, defended the cause of philosophy and science by an exposition of the services which they had rendered to the revolution. At last it was resolved, that the committee of instruction should provide for the enlightenment of the people by a number of moral tracts, to be printed and posted daily in the streets. The tyranny of kings, as it was termed, had opened immense resources to the arts and sciences, and, in times stigmatized as dark, the Church had already founded the instruction of

the people on the basis of religious institutions: the wisdom of the most enlightened of all ages overthrew the edifice of popular education, annihilated all the resources of higher intellectual cultivation at a blow, and sent its own professors and teachers to the scaffold.

"I have seen you all pass away," says Desodoards, an eye-witness of the revolution—"Condorcet, Chamfort, Florian, Vicq d'Azyr, men whose names will continue to be dear to all the friends of science! Chamfort, one of the apostles of the revolution, delivered himself from the hated sight of it by a voluntary death. Florian died in prison; Vicq d'Azyr in a fit of madness. Ye too were sacrificed, Bailly, Dietrich, Linguet, Barnave, Lavoisier, Roucher, André Chenier—ye were sacrificed because ye believed not in Marat!" Lavoisier solicited a reprieve for a fortnight that he might finish a chemical investigation in which he was engaged: he was told that the republic had no need of chemists, and sent forthwith to the guillotine. Roucher, author of a poem entitled "The Months," devoted himself in prison to the education of one of his sons. On receiving sentence, he sent the boy home, with his portrait painted, by an artist confined with him in the Conciergerie, which he charged the bearer to deliver to his mother, and under which he had written these beautiful lines:

Objets charmans et doux, ne vous étonnez pas
Si quelque air de tristesse obscurcit mon visage,
Lorsqu'un crayon savant dessinoit cette image,
J'attendois l'échafaud et je pensois à vous.*

The Catholic Church still subsisted in the form which

* Thus rendered by Miss Helen Maria Williams: —
Lov'd objects, cease to wonder when ye trace
The melancholy air that clouds my face;
Ah! while the painter's skill this image drew,
They rear'd the scaffold, and I thought of you!

the Constituent Assembly had given it; divine service was still performed by priests who had taken the oath; and, though the pious shunned them as repudiated by the head of the Church, the indifferent despised them, and the enthusiasts for liberty jeered and vilified them as relics of the old system; still the mere existence of a Christian worship, paid for or only tolerated by the State, involved an acknowledgment of spiritual life, which was displeasing to the apostles of materialism. Hence the total annihilation of the Church was determined, in accordance with the spirit of those philosophic principles, from which the revolution had set out.

A beginning was made on the 3rd of November, 1793, by a decree declaring all goods, utensils, and valuables belonging to the churches to be the property of the nation. On the 7th, a farce in the style of that enacted by the embassy of the human race, was performed at the bar of the Convention. Hebert appeared, with his assistants of the department and of the commune of Paris, followed by Gobel, the constitutional bishop of that city, and many other ecclesiastics. They might have been taken for prisoners, till Gobel, a man of seventy, obtained permission to speak, and declared, in the name of his colleagues, that "it was only in obedience to the will of the people that he accepted the episcopal chair of Paris, and that while he occupied it he had not deluded his flock, inasmuch as he had employed the influence of his office to increase their love of liberty and equality. But now that the revolution was approaching its consummation, now that Liberty walked with firm step, that all sentiments were absorbed in one, now that no other worship ought to take place but that of liberty and equality, now he renounced his functions as a servant of the Catholic Church, he deposited his diploma of priest, as did also his clergy, on the bureau

of the Convention." Loud plaudits rang through the assembly: the president, in a pompous speech, boasted of the triumph celebrated that day by philosophy and illumination, presented the bishop with a Jacobin cap, and gave him the fraternal embrace. The priests vied with each other in assurances that they had hitherto taught nothing but idle tales and absurdities, and deceived the people. Some, pulling off the insignia of their profession and office, evidently assumed for the express purpose, trampled them under foot. The deputy Julien of Toulouse declared that he had officiated for twenty years as a Protestant minister, but that he renounced the profession: thenceforward the sanctuary of the laws should be his temple, Liberty his divinity, the country his service, and the constitution his gospel.

The plunder of the churches, previously begun, was accelerated with the assistance of the clergy themselves. Neither altars nor tombs were spared; waggon-loads of church ornaments, utensils, and bells, were brought to Paris, and every day the Convention was interrupted in its law-making by the homage of ruthless banditti, who appeared at the bar with booty of which they had robbed the churches, and, disguised in clerical paraphernalia, combined grave speeches with ludicrous dances, revolutionary airs, and abominable parodies of religious hymns. The relics of saints, placed upon asses, were paraded about and then flung into the dirt; while bibles, splendidly bound, tied to the tails of the animals, were dragged through the mud. Porters in the episcopal costume rode backward, and were adorned with ears as long as those of the brutes themselves. All pictures having reference to the Catholic religion, or to the birth, life, and death of Christ, or representing Madonnas and saints, were destroyed, without regard to their value as works of art. In like manner, all the heads of the

statues of saints were knocked off with sledge-hammers. Some churches and abbeys were even demolished, and almost all the rural chapels, shaded by ancient lime-trees, so dear to the female peasantry, met with this fate. Every Decadi, atheism was preached from all the pulpits, and, frequently, representatives of the people were the preachers. Monvel, an actor, even went so far as to challenge God, in the church of St. Roch, to display his power. "If thou really livest," cried this stupid blasphemer, "I tell thee that I despise thee and thy thunders. I call upon thee to avenge thyself.....Thou dost not, thou darest not, punish me; so I have a right to conclude that thou dost not exist."

These profanations of religion were not confined to the capital: the scanty decorations of the country churches were given up to pillage, as well as the treasuries of St. Genevieve and Notre Dame. The least sign of a religious act was a mortal crime. The owner of a prayer-book, a crucifix, the image of a saint, was obliged to bury it in the ground as carefully as a robber would his booty, and nothing could have saved the life of one in whose possession a holy-water vessel had been found. At Arras a woman of sixty was executed for no other reason but because she had dared to pray.

But this abomination of desolation was destined to be thrown into the shade by the still greater of a new worship. While the first enthusiasts for liberty in the Convention and among the Jacobins, while Robespierre, St. Just, and the other heads of the revolution, stopped short at deism, Hebert and Chaumette, the leaders of the municipality, and the Cordeliers, men inferior in position and education, proceeded to atheism. Though not openly professed by them, yet their unbelief cannot but be inferred from all their speeches and writings. In these God was never mentioned, but they were contin-

ally repeating, that a people ought to be governed by reason alone, and that no other worship but that of reason ought to be permitted. Chaumette was not base, malicious, ambitious, like Hebert; he had no great political views: swayed by a low philosophy and an inordinate passion for talking, he preached, with all the zeal and pride of a missionary, on good morals, industry, patriotic virtues, and reason. He declaimed with energy against plunder; he censured with vehemence those women who neglected their household affairs to mix in political commotions, and had even the courage to shut up their club; he had instigated the abolition of beggary and the erection of workhouses for paupers; he thundered against public prostitution, and induced the municipality to oblige those who followed it to give up their profession, hitherto deemed indispensable in a large capital. "They were a necessary evil," said Chaumette, "in Catholic countries, where there were many idle citizens and unmarried priests, but they must be driven out of republics by labour and marriage."

Chaumette, therefore, took the first step in behalf of this worship of reason, and raised his voice in the municipality against the public ceremonies of the Catholic Church. He alleged that this was a privilege which that Church ought not to enjoy more than any other, for, if every sect insisted on exercising such a right, all the streets and public places would soon witness the most ludicrous absurdities. As the municipality had the control over the police, he obtained an order forbidding the priests of all religions to exercise their functions out of their churches or places of worship. He also caused new regulations for funerals to be framed. None but relations and friends were in future to follow the corpse. All religious emblems were removed from the cemeteries, and replaced by a statue of Sleep, as Fouché had pre-

viously directed in the department of the Allier. Instead of the cypress and weeping willow, fragrant and cheerful trees were to be planted. "The beauty and the odour of flowers," said Chaumette, "will produce the gentlest feelings; I wish it were possible to inhale the spirit of my father in the perfume of a rose." All external signs of religion were removed, and the images of the Virgin Mary, in niches at the corners of the streets, were taken down and replaced by the busts of Marat and Lepelletier.

On the motion of Chaumette, the cathedral of Notre Dame was converted into a temple of Reason, for which the destroyers of Christianity devised a new worship. It was celebrated, for the first time, on the 10th of November, 1793. The wife of a printer named Momoro, a friend of Chaumette's, representing the goddess of Reason, was drawn in a triumphal car to the altar, placed upon it, while hymns were sung and incense burned to her, then veiled and borne in solemn procession, in an arm-chair wreathed with oak, to the Convention. Chaumette addressed the assembly. "Legislators," said he, "Superstition has given way to Reason; his scowling eyes could no longer endure the light of Truth. We have taken possession of the temples which he abandoned, and given them a new destination. To-day the people of Paris have assembled in those Gothic structures, which for so many ages have echoed the voice of Error, and have now for the first time reverberated the words of Truth. There the French have offered adoration to Liberty, to Equality, to Nature. To represent Nature, we have chosen not a mere image, but a masterpiece of her own; and this sacred object has inflamed all our hearts. One wish, one prayer, ascended from all sides: 'No more priests, no other gods but those which Nature presents to us!' Mortals, cease to tremble at the impotent lightnings of a God whom your imagination created. Acknowledge

no other divinity but Reason, whose noblest and purest image I here present to you." At these words the speaker unveiled his goddess, who, descending from her seat, went up to the president, and, amidst loud shouts of applause, received the fraternal embrace from him and the secretaries. The whole assembly then followed the goddess back in procession to her new temple, to sing a hymn to Liberty, composed by Chenier, which concluded with a patriotic apostrophe to her champions, calling upon them to sanctify terror, that the last of slaves might soon follow the last of kings to the grave.

For several months this farce was repeated not only in Paris but in all the towns of France. The churches became theatres of the most repulsive scenes, which young and modest females were compelled to attend along with the most depraved of their sex. For coy beauty was reserved the hardest sacrifice: it consisted in personating the goddess of Reason in a costume which disconcerted even Paris opera-dancers. Not unfrequently this part was assigned to some unhappy orphan, whose parents had perished on the scaffold; and several commissioners of the Convention exercised their ingenuity in refining on these scandalous festivals so as to give them more zest for the voluptuary.

The party with which these insane proceedings originated hastened with strides of increasing rapidity to the summit of the revolution. All that elevates man above animal existence had been declared by the doctrine of the philosophers to be delusion and error; and the legislation emanating from this philosophy had done its utmost to eradicate that reverence for what is high and holy, implanted by Nature in the human heart, and strengthened by the education of centuries. On the downfall of royalty, the destruction of all monuments and works of art tending to remind the beholder of kingly rule was commanded;

after the fall of the Church, the like sentence of condemnation was passed on all the remaining productions of the fine arts. There was not a picture or a coat of arms but was thought to savour of royalism, feudalism, or superstition. David, the Jacobin, himself could scarcely save the masterpieces of his skill from the attacks of his colleagues, and had to lament the loss of several of them. There was some talk of burning the museum and the library, because the history of the world could produce nothing to compare with the French revolution. At the same time, a decree, which commanded the destruction of the royal tombs in the abbey of St. Denis, directed the savage fury which had been wreaked upon the bodies of the murdered against the resting-places of the long-buried dead. The remains of the kings were torn from their sepulchres, treated with every possible indignity, and flung into pits; even the bones of Louis XII. and Henry IV. were dispersed; and the body of Turenne alone was spared, for the purpose of being preserved in the museum as a curiosity. This example soon manifested its contagious influence, so that in other places also the coffins were broken open, and half-decayed bodies were dragged naked through the streets.

The religious and moral elements of life were annihilated, and it was intended that none but the purely civil should be suffered to exist: but it was found that the latter could not maintain their ground without the former. Property, though repeatedly declared sacred by decrees of the legislative assemblies, could not but appear to the strict doctrine of equality to be, not less than royalty and nobility, an unnatural violation of right, which no act of arbitrary power could ever confirm. If so many ages had not been able to establish a right of continuance for the one kind of usurpation, it was impossible to discover whence that right could arise for the far more oppressive

usurpation of the other. Hence Babœuf, the Jacobin, in his address to the French nation, a year or two later, argued quite consistently, though to his own destruction. "From time immemorial we have been hypocritically told 'men are all equal,' and from time immemorial the most prodigious inequality has oppressed the human race. Equality was nothing but a fair and barren fiction of the laws. We now desire real equality or death. We would have it amidst us and in our houses. Let all the arts and sciences perish, so real equality be but permanently established. Legislators and rulers, rich capitalists and wealthy land-owners, in vain ye strive to frustrate our holy enterprise by accusing us of desiring agrarian laws. An agrarian law, or an equal division of land, was for a moment the wish of some soldiers without principle, of mobs governed more by blind impulse than by reason. Our views are directed to a higher object, to the general welfare and community of goods. No more exclusive property in land: the earth belongs to nobody. We demand the general use of the productions of the earth: for its fruits belong to all. Away then at last with that revolting difference between rich and poor, between high and low, between masters and servants, between governors and governed! No other difference must exist between governors and governed, but that of age and sex."

In the spirit of these principles, Couthon replied to the merchants of Lyons, who besought him to spare their commerce: "We want no commerce. Commerce begets wealth; wealth begets corruption of manners, and that the decline of republics." Correspondent with these principles were the instructions given by Collot d'Herbois to his agents: "Everything is allowable to those who act in the spirit of the revolution. Every one who does not feel his blood boil at the bare mention of wealth and superfluity is a rebel against Nature. Act greatly:

take everything superfluous that a citizen has; assist us to execute great measures. No considerations must impede you, neither age, nor sex, nor kindred. You must have regard to none but the sans-culottes."

Expressions of this kind, it is true, were occasionally recalled, restricted, denied, or censured and punished as crimes in the adherents of an overthrown party, as in the case of Babœuf; but the inconsistency of this proceeding was obvious, for, with the principles of absolute equality, property could no more exist than monarchy and nobility. This inconsistency, however, was only one of the grand contradictions of a revolution, which, in the name of liberty, had established the most unbounded tyranny, and for the promotion of the national happiness had reduced the whole population of France to the state of condemned criminals.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SECOND PARTITION OF POLAND.

We have seen in what manner the new Polish constitution was overthrown by the confederation of Targowiça, and the country reduced to as abject dependence on the will of the ambitious Catherine as if it had been a province of all the Russias. The authors of that confederation themselves were sensible of the evils brought upon the republic by their appeal to the czarina; and when they repaired to Petersburgh to solicit some alleviation of them, and to negotiate a permanent treaty with Russia, they were loaded with civilities, amused with hopes, and put off with evasions. The principal members of the confederation retired in consequence to their estates.

Early in the year 1793, the generalité, which had removed agreeably to the order of the Russian empress from Brzesc to Grodno, received tidings of the entry of the Prussian troops into Poland. It was accompanied by a declaration of the king of Prussia, which set out with observing, "It is known to all Europe that the revolution which took place in Poland on the 3rd of May, 1791, without the knowledge and the participation of the neighbouring States in alliance with the republic, very soon excited the discontent and the resistance of the greater part of the nation." After this exordium were enumerated the motives which had induced the empress of Russia to order her army to enter Poland, and those which obliged the king to follow her example. The grand point was to prevent the principles of French democracy from creeping into Poland, and to keep in check the evil-disposed, whose object was to excite disturbances. "The king flatters himself," such was the conclusion of this equally false and insulting declaration, "that, after the peaceful arrangements which he has adopted, he may venture to reckon upon the good-will of a nation, whose welfare cannot be indifferent to him, and to which he wishes to give proofs of his friendship." At that very moment Prussian troops were blockading Dantzick, which opened its gates to them on the 4th of April.

It is a singular fact that, while rapacious sovereigns were charging the unfortunate Poles with Jacobinism, the French Jacobins were styling the Diet an assembly of aristocrats, and asserting that the Poles were not capable of raising themselves to their revolutionary elevation. On the score of Jacobinism, indeed, the Poles need no apologist. The patriotism which set them in motion was free from any leaven of that kind; and their hostility to their enemies had nothing in

common with the sentiments which then swayed the French.

A manifesto, designed by Felix Potocki and Sapieha, as marshal and chancellor of the confederation, and dated February 3rd, 1793, protested against the entry of the Prussian troops, and concluded with the following words: "Finally, we declare that no other object animates our exertions but this—to leave to our descendants a well organized, free, and independent republic, and either to preserve inviolate this republic, which we shall have regenerated, or not to survive its ruin." Not confining itself to this protest, the generalité ordered the levy *en masse* of the nobles of the provinces; but was obliged to comply with the requisition of Sievers, the Russian ambassador, who intimated that the Russian generals had instructions to prevent any assemblage whatever, and to recal its proclamation.

Meanwhile, Rzewuski, who commanded the troops of the confederation, had set in motion men and artillery for the defence of the fortress of Czenstochow, which was threatened with an attack. Igelström, the Russian commander-in-chief, opposed this order, declaring that no Polish corps was to quit its position without his leave. At the same time, he ordered quarters for 25,000 Poles to be prepared in the Ukraine, where there was a corps of 50,000 Russians; he insisted that the fortress of Kaminiec should be given up to him, and threatened that, if the Poles made the slightest movement, he would disarm the garrison of Warsaw and take possession of the arsenal.

Notwithstanding all calamities and persecutions, the public spirit in the capital continued unchanged. The inhabitants of Warsaw, with the exception of a small number, who, from interest or mistaken notions, adhered to Russia, complained bitterly of the conduct of the courts of Petersburgh and Berlin, in spite of the presence

of a very numerous Russian garrison, censured without reserve the chiefs of the confederation of Targowiça, professed their attachment to the constitution of the 3rd of May, and spared not the king himself, whom they regarded as the principal author of all the evils which had befallen the country. Several of the members of the Diet of the 3rd of May had withdrawn to foreign countries; but a still greater number remained at Warsaw, in the hope of seeing that assembly called together again. In the places of public resort people expressed their opinions without reserve, and the utmost rigour of the Russian police could not prevent execrations, both loud and deep, from being launched against those who had brought the Russian army to Poland.

That unhappy country seemed to be doomed to calamities of every kind. The extraordinary influx of specie had encouraged profusion and luxury to an incredible degree among all classes, when the bankers of Warsaw, in whose hands immense sums were deposited, all at once declared themselves insolvent. Their sudden and wholly unexpected failure produced universal alarm and consternation; the circulation of specie ceased, and credit was at an end. The bankers excused themselves by alleging that they could not obtain payment of the advances which they had made to foreign courts; but the general opinion was that they had been ordered to declare themselves insolvent, in order to produce a national bankruptcy, for the purpose of keeping the people quiet, and making them attend to their own affairs, instead of turning their thoughts to politics. Not only the capitalists, but the landed proprietors, were ruined; for lands sunk all at once to less than half their value.

In this unfortunate state of things, Russia and Prussia issued declarations, dated the 9th of April, which were

communicated to the diplomatic corps, specifying the provinces of which they had agreed to rob their neighbour. They repeated the charge of Jacobinism, and intimated that the hostile dispositions of the Poles were of such a nature, that a new Sicilian vespers was to be apprehended; adding that they had been only just in time to avert such a catastrophe, and that, for the peace of the neighbouring States, and even for that of the republic itself, the courts of Petersburgh and Berlin could devise no better means than to confine Poland within the limits best adapted to its form of government. The nation was summoned at the same time to assemble a Diet as speedily as possible, to settle this matter amicably, and to second the beneficent intentions of the two courts, in order to procure for the republic a desirable peace and a fixed constitution.

Sievers and Igelström had long urged the king of Poland to repair to Grodno, and to convoke a Diet in that city. The positive commands of Catherine at length induced his compliance. As, however, he alleged that he had no right to remove from the capital without the consent of his council, Sievers insisted on the re-establishment of the permanent council, which had always been obnoxious to the Poles; and obliged the generalité to issue mandates tending to secure the election of persons favourable to the views of the court of Petersburgh as members of the new Diet. At the same time Russian garrisons were placed in all the towns where the elections were to be held. Stanislaus, to avert, if possible, the impending calamity, wrote to Catherine, again offering to resign a crown which, as duty forbade him to take any part in those measures that must bring misfortune upon Poland, he could no longer wear with honour. Without deigning to answer the ill-fated king, the empress expressed her pleasure to her ambassador on

this subject, insisting that Stanislaus should retain the reins of the State till he had brought it through the present crisis; and that on no other condition would she ever ensure to him an easy existence in that retirement which he contemplated.

The king, who in spite of all remonstrances had been obliged to go to Grodno, awaited in deep despondence the meeting of that Diet which was to seal the fate of Poland. In opening it on the 17th of June, he expressed his concern for the calamity which threatened the country, lamented the irresistible force of circumstances, and pointed out negociation as the only means from which any alleviation could be hoped for.

Sievers lost no time in urging the Diet to appoint a deputation to negociate with him a treaty conformable with the principles laid down in the declaration of the 9th of April. A deputation was accordingly nominated, but empowered only to negociate such a treaty as should guarantee the integrity and independence of the dominions of both parties; and the Diet, on opening its sittings, declared without reserve that it would not discuss any proposal tending to restrict the freedom of Poland, to abridge the rights of her citizens, or to partition the country.

The Russian ambassador, finding that his influence over the Diet had not been sufficient to procure for the deputation such instructions as he required, burst forth into invectives against the whole assembly, and ordered the treasurer of the crown to cease paying to the king the revenues assigned to him from the public exchequer; but he was still more furious when he learned that several members of the Diet had instantly joined to offer the king out of their own resources 400,000 Polish guilders, which, however, he declined to accept. Sievers, naturally passionate, now put under sequestration the pro-

perty of several members of the Diet, and especially of the two grand marshals, on the ground that they had not held their sittings with closed doors, according to his orders. A few days afterwards, he caused several deputies to be apprehended in their houses; but almost all the others refused to attend in their places till their colleagues were set at liberty. They entered moreover into an engagement, binding themselves to consider the Diet as dissolved, in case of the arrest of any other member; and formally protested in a manifesto against the violence exercised by a foreign power upon the representatives of an independent nation. Sievers repented his hasty proceedings, and released the deputies, but accompanied the humiliating step with the threat that if, upon any pretext whatever, the diet permitted further delay, the whole territory of the republic should be occupied by troops.

On the 13th of July, the ambassador transmitted to the Diet the plan of a treaty of partition and alliance, which was subsequently adopted without alteration; and, when the assembly hesitated to empower its delegation to subscribe the conditions, he threatened that any further refusal should be considered as a declaration of war, and that he would order the Russian troops to levy military execution on the estates and possessions of such of the members of the Diet as should oppose the general wish of the nation. This note made a powerful effect on the Diet, and gave rise to warm debates, in which the patriotic sentiments of some of the deputies were expressed with such vehemence as to alarm the timid Stanislaus, who recommended resignation to circumstances which they could not control. The deputation was in consequence instructed to sign the treaty. In the full powers granted for this purpose is the following passage: "Left to ourselves, deprived of all foreign aid, possessing no

resources but a small number of troops and an exhausted treasury, incessantly pressed on all sides by a thousand evils, humanity itself seems to forbid a war which we could not carry on, and in which the blood of our fellow-citizens would be shed to no purpose. Any attempt would but serve to accelerate our certain annihilation, and to extinguish the name of Poland. Our misfortune has increased to the highest pitch, and, as it is no longer to be averted, all we can do is to call the All-righteous and Almighty God, who governs men and the universe, and who sees the oppression and violence exercised upon us, to witness our innocence."

This description of the state of the national representatives was not overcharged. Not only were the environs of Grodno occupied by numerous troops and the city itself by a garrison, but all the outlets were so carefully guarded, that no person was allowed to take a walk outside the town without a ticket of leave from the Russian commandant. The foreign ambassadors themselves were not excepted from this restriction, and when they complained of it, Sievers offered them cards for themselves and their retinue, which they refused as derogatory to their diplomatic character.

As soon as Sievers had gained his point, the same scenes were acted with Bucholz, the Prussian ambassador, only the meetings of the Diet were more stormy, and the unfortunate Stanislaus was virulently abused as the cause of all the evils that had befallen Poland. The two ambassadors delivered frequent notes, sometimes in a tone of severity, at others of menace, and at last intimated that Marshal Möllendorf had orders from his court to enter the waywodeships of Cracow and Sandomir, if the negociations with Bucholz were protracted. The threats of laying waste the country were repeated. Still there was in the Diet a very strong party against Prussia,

which not only sought to retard the negociations but to break them off entirely.

The ratification of the treaty with Russia led to the most violent discussions in the Diet, which lasted for four days, when the king, adverting to the indiscreet language which had been used, and which might draw upon Poland the displeasure of the empress and still more melancholy consequences, observed that the ratification ought not to be longer delayed. This proposition was carried, after a very warm debate and loud murmurs against the king himself.

The discussions respecting the Prussian treaty were continued amidst repeated threats of military execution in case of further delay, and at length they became so stormy that, on the 28th of August and the two following days, the king was obliged to break up the assembly. The Russian ambassador now thought fit to interfere. He informed the Diet that, to prevent disorders, he had deemed it right to surround the palace with two grenadier battalions and four pieces of cannon, under the command of General Rautenfeld. "These," he proceeds, "the general will distribute in such a manner that no person whatever not belonging to the assembly shall have access to the hall. In case concealed arms are found upon any deputy, he shall be immediately secured and sent to prison to be tried as an assassin. Twelve officers shall attend in the anteroom and have permission to go into the hall and sit on the deputies' bench. A place shall be reserved near the throne for General Rautenfeld, and he shall take care that no tumult is raised especially against the sacred person of the king and the marshals of the Diet."

The treaty with Prussia was now signed on the 2nd of September, but with certain conditions attached, which Frederick William could not be expected to approve.

He immediately resorted to serious demonstrations. Thirty battalions and seventy squadrons were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march, and to enter Poland at the first signal. It was resolved, however, to try once more the effect of negociation, and to this end fresh instructions were sent to the Prussian minister at Grodno. Bucholz accordingly again remonstrated in urgent terms with the Diet, insisting on the signature of the treaty without conditions; and this demand was strenuously supported by the Russian ambassador.

This unexpected step again gave rise to the most vehement debates: almost all the deputies were adverse to compliance, and some of them loudly declaimed against the tyranny practised by the two courts. In the night following this stormy sitting, four of the deputies who had been most violent were seized at their own homes by Russian soldiers at the command of Sievers. In a note addressed to the Diet on the subject, he alleged that "the four deputies had been led by their Jacobin principles into the most culpable excesses in their speeches so highly offensive to the two neighbouring powers, and he had therefore ordered them to be carried back to the towns and districts for which they were elected. Profound silence pervaded the hall. Twice did the chancellors repair to the Russian ambassador, to represent that they could not commence their deliberations till the four deputies were released; and twice they returned with no other answer but harsh words and threats. A short note from Sievers soon followed, in which he declared that "this mode of proceeding was a fresh insult to the high allied courts; that he was not accountable to any one for the apprehension of the deputies; that he was acquainted with the laws cited to him; that he had grown gray in observing them; that, if they were not respected anywhere, it was in Poland; and that he

must remind the assembly of the first of the laws, to honour sovereigns, which the Jacobin principles of the 3rd of May disclaimed."

A singular scene took place after the reading of this note, which was listened to in quiet amazement. Not one of the deputies opened his lips; all of them, as if by sympathy, resolved to sit mute and to adjourn the deliberation. Rautenfeld, seated in his arm-chair in the hall, knew not what to make of this silent resistance, or how to act. Turning to the king, he urged him to put an end to this inexplicable procedure of the deputies; but Stanislaus replied that he could not compel them to speak. The general left the hall to confer with the ambassador, and to take his orders. He soon returned, and declared to the king that the members should not leave the hall till they had given their assent, and if this method failed, he was empowered to resort to extreme severity. In a note to the grand-marshal of Lithuania, Sievers declared that the king himself should not leave his throne, and that the deputies should lie upon straw in the hall till they had complied with his will. This threat, however, produced no more effect than any of the preceding. Profound silence continued to reign in the hall, and about three in the morning Rautenfeld rose to order in a division of Russian troops, when a deputy proposed to put an end to this mute scene and to submit to the will of the two courts. The marshal of the Diet, who, like the deputy just mentioned, was a creature of Russia's, then asked whether the assembly consented that the deputation should sign the treaty without alteration. This question was repeated three times with scarcely any intervening pause; but silence was the only reply. That silence the marshal construed into consent, and declared that the deputation was empowered to sign the treaty. It was accordingly signed on the 25th of

September, the birthday of the Prussian monarch, which day the Russian ambassador had expressly fixed for the last.

Thus terminated the long series of injuries, indignities, and violence, inflicted on the unfortunate Poles by their rapacious neighbours, to wring from them the semblance of an assent to the most scandalous robbery ever perpetrated on an independent, unoffending nation. In this second partition of the dominions of the republic, Russia seized the remainder of the palatinates of Polozk and Minsk, half of the palatinates of Nowgorodek and Brzesk, the Ukraine, Podolia, and the eastern half of Volhynia, comprehending upwards of 102,000 square miles and three million inhabitants. The share of Prussia consisted of the palatinates of Posen, Gnesen, Kalisch, Sieradz, Lenzica, and half of Rawa, together with Dantzick and Thorn, half of the palatinate of Brzesk, the district of Dobrzyn, and the fortress of Czenstochow, about 24,000 square miles, with 1,100,000 inhabitants.

The conclusion of the treaty of cession with Prussia was speedily succeeded by a long-contemplated treaty of alliance with Russia, by which the Poles conceived that they might best secure and preserve their remaining territory. It was submitted to the Diet on the 16th of October, voted by acclamation, and signed.

The subsequent proceedings of the Diet related chiefly to the army, which was not to consist of more than 15,000 or fewer than 12,000 men, and to demands on Russia and Prussia of restitution of the moneys found by them in the provincial chests on taking possession of their new provinces, and destined for the payment of the long arrears due to the troops.

The last days of the Diet, which broke up on the 24th of November, were occupied by the discussion of a new constitution; a labour which could well have been spared,

as that assembly might have foreseen how soon it was to be overthrown. Before the end of the year, Sievers was recalled, and general Igelström appointed in the double capacity of commander-in-chief and ambassador. He was a man of such intolerable arrogance and pretension as to revolt all who approached him; and his imprudent and unworthy behaviour contributed not a little to the remarkable events which took place in Poland, in the following year.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OVERTHROW OF DANTON AND HIS PARTY.

The vulgar spirits among the Jacobin leaders in France found the transition from a moral to a savage state agreeable to their natural inclination, and rejoiced in the growing power of phrenzy and villany. Not so those who were considered as the real heads of the revolution, Danton and Robespierre. In the former—a man addicted to pleasure, who, by energetic language, and by daring and reckless conduct, had produced the principal act of the revolution, and set in motion the machinery of the system of blood—the feeling of humanity was awakened, and along with it a wish to stop the fatal instrument, because it was his desire that it should be employed for the preservation of the republic, not for the slaughter of its citizens. Unfortunately, he found his powers exhausted by his efforts to do mischief, and by a life of luxurious indulgence, attained by means of the millions which had poured into his lap as minister and commissioner to the army: an invincible listlessness overpowered him. Kept out of the Committee of Welfare, he also lost his influence in the Convention and in the municipality of Paris by

retiring for several months to the environs of Arcis sur Aube, his birthplace, and afterwards by frequently absenting himself, or by indolent silence: for, in a democratic assembly, nothing so surely impairs and so speedily extinguishes the most powerful influence as prolonged and repeated absence from that stage where the multitude expect superiority to be displayed.

At length, Danton raised his voice against the overstraining of the revolutionary springs, and the servile surrender of all public authority into the hands of the Committee of Welfare. He demanded the adoption of the principle that the law should emanate from the Convention alone, and proposed that the commissioners who had pursued arbitrary measures should be recalled; but the Revolution had already grown too headstrong for its nurses, and the words of a man lately so feared passed unheeded, because they were not spoken in the spirit of the dominant party, raised by himself to supreme authority.

Danton's friend, Camille Desmoulins, whose circumstances, improved by his marriage with a young, handsome, and wealthy wife, had wrought a change in the temper of his mind, and whom the atrocities daily practised in the name of liberty had brought completely to his senses, now endeavoured, in a new publication entitled *Le Vieux Cordelier*, to curb that tyranny which had sprung out of the mania for liberty. He descanted on a more humane use of the revolution, recommended moderation instead of the blind rule of terror, and broached, among other things, the idea of a committee of mercy. So deep was France sunk that it appeared a bold stroke to hazard such sentiments; and the daring writer, who had ventured to throw out the word moderation, sought at the same time to purchase his pardon by representing himself as a good-natured simpleton, who

preached without any particular hope of success. "If my committee of mercy sounds amiss in the ears of my colleagues, and seems to savour of moderatism, I can make the same answer to those who reproach me for being too moderate in this publication as Marat did when accused of being too violent in his: 'Let me speak. All that I talk about will not be done at once.'"

These timid evasions availed him nothing. The Jacobins immediately branded him as an apostate, excluded him from their society, and threatened to bring him before the revolutionary tribunal, because some expressions favourable to the Girondists had escaped him; when Robespierre all at once took his part, declared that he was a good man, who was sometimes weak and ingenuous, often bold and energetic, but always a stanch republican, and thereby brought about his re-admittance into the club. The publication was suppressed, but the voice of humanity seemed not to have been raised in vain, since Robespierre stepped forward as its defender.

The latter continued to combat the principles of Jacobinism with passionate ardour and with the appearance of philosophic profundity. He censured at the same time the false measures of infatuated friends, and asserted that the revolution was abused for criminal purposes by secret royalists and aristocrats, disguised under an hypocritical mask. "Aristocracy, too," said he, in one of his speeches, "constitutes itself into popular societies; counter-revolutionary pride conceals its plots under rags. Fanaticism overthrows its own altars; royalism sings the victories of the republic; nobility embraces equality in order to strangle it; and tyranny, stained with the blood of the champions of freedom, strews flowers on their graves. How many traitors mix themselves up with our affairs, to throw them into confusion!"

Such was the accusation directed by Robespierre against the band of insane apostles of equality, church-plunderers, and worshippers of Reason, headed by Hebert, Chaumette, Cloots, and others, whose outrageous proceedings he disapproved chiefly because they held sway in the municipality of Paris, and the power of that commune, which threw the Committee of Welfare into the shade, excited his jealousy. It mortified the lofty dictator, with his affectation of virtuous sentiments, that these paltry fellows should have the presumption to desire to share his authority founded on the people; and, the prouder the contempt which he felt for men so subordinate, and the more difficult it was for him to make others comprehend the nice distinctions by which he strove to disprove the relationship of his Jacobinism to theirs, the more furious was the hatred into which that contempt was soon converted.

Having therefore concerted measures with Danton and his adherents, he commenced the attack, and, in a speech delivered on the 6th of March, 1794, he designated the self-styled orator of the human race a madman, a hypocrite, who instigated France to the conquest of the whole world merely to provoke tyrants to attempt the subjugation of France; who preached atheism in order to accuse philosophy, and made war upon the Deity to promote the restoration of royalty. He condemned with vehemence the jugglery of the renunciation of religion, of which he had hitherto been a silent spectator, as an idea devised by the enemies of the republic, and by the genius of the courts which had conspired against it.

About the same time, Hebert's "Pere Duchesne," a paper filled with the wildest ultra-Jacobinism, but which in fact contained little more than what Marat and Robespierre had often enough advanced, was suppressed through the displeasure of the latter. Hebert should

now have availed himself of the means which the municipality and the revolutionary army placed at his disposal and have hazarded a bold stroke; but, with the same timid irresolution which was destined to undo all the men of the revolution in their turns, even though they had long distinguished themselves as the most audacious of villains, he wasted his time in talking when he ought to have acted. In a speech which he made in the club of the Cordeliers, he animadverted, in allusion to Robespierre, on a faction which had returned to Brissot's principles; on persons, formerly inmates of garrets, now dwelling in palaces, riding about in coaches, and sucking the marrow of the people as unconcernedly as if there was no such thing as the guillotine; on ambitious men, who always kept behind the curtain, exposed others to dangers, closed the mouths of good patriots, and were bent on ruling at any rate. He concluded with an exhortation to insurrection, as the only medium of rescuing the country from the fangs of conspirators. The whole assembly coincided with him, and promised him support; and, to begin with, the rights of man, hung up in the hall of meeting, were covered with black crape.

But the party had erred either in their estimate of the relation in which Collot d'Herbois, their patron and protector, stood to Robespierre, or of the means of the dictator. On receiving intelligence of the proceedings at the Cordeliers, he hastened to get rid of his rivals, and to release the Convention, which was to wear his yoke alone, from that of the commune. The stroke was successful. In consequence of a speech made by St. Just in the Convention, on the 13th of March, Hebert and nineteen of his partisans were apprehended. The act of accusation charged them with having, for the purpose of restoring despotism, conspired to murder all the zealous

champions of liberty along with the members of the Convention, and to set up a new tyrant by the title of Supreme Judge. Their trial was soon finished: with the exception of one only, they were all condemned to death. Hebert abandoned himself to despair; the rest vented reproaches against one another. Anacharsis Cloots strove to cheer his companions in misfortune, and with such success that at last they all died good friends. His only anxiety was lest any of them should believe in God, and he never ceased preaching materialism to them till the arrival of the cart. It was on the 24th of March that they ascended the scaffold; Cloots being at his desire executed last, that he might display the firmness of his principles.

Some days after Hebert and his associates, five members of the Convention, whose mode of thinking and acting corresponded with theirs, were sent before the tribunal. These were Julien of Toulouse, Delaunay of Angers, Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot, and Bazire. They were charged with peculation and forgery; Robespierre and Billaud accused them of being secret agents of the enemy. Bazire alleged that Delaunay and Chabot had taken money to save the Girondists: he was himself charged by Hebert with having purloined the treasures of the people and being only screened by the persons in authority. They now found themselves all brought to judgment as accomplices in the guilt of their accuser. Billaud-Varennes moved in the Convention that the accusation against Chabot should charge him with having designed by his conduct to degrade the national representation; and Robespierre took great pains to proclaim this system of degradation to the world as a new plot of tyrants against liberty, of vice against virtue. "The crimes of some of our colleagues," said he, "are the work of foreigners, whose aim in it is not so much the

destruction of these persons as the overthrow of the French republic. But I challenge the tyrants of the earth to measure their strength with the representatives of the French people; I challenge the man whose name has already so often polluted these walls; I challenge the English parliament, which lends itself to participate in the liberticide plans of its minister. Would you know the difference between them and us? It is this—that famous parliament is wholly corrupt, while only some of our members are infected with corruption; it is this—that they openly boast of selling their votes; whereas we, when we discover a traitor or one who has forgotten his duty among us, we send him to the scaffold."

After the apprehension of Fabre, Danton did nothing for his party; Desmoulins could not do anything. Bourdon of the Oise, though not belonging to their party, displayed more spirit than either. On the 20th of March he accused Heron, an agent of the Committee of Welfare, and obtained a decree for his apprehension. Couthon and Robespierre took up his defence. The latter called the accusation an effort of that malignity which was incessantly striving to lead the Convention astray; and he exhorted the assembly, after overpowering one faction, to grapple another with vigorous arm, and to save the country. This might have served for a warning to Danton, but he did not yet consider Robespierre as his enemy, neither indeed was it the latter who urged his accusation: and when Billaud-Varennes, in the Committee of Welfare, first made complaints of Danton, Robespierre reproved him, saying that he would ruin the best patriots. This was not hypocrisy, neither was it the effect of friendship for Danton: soon afterwards, Robespierre, yielding to the urgency of his partisans, and to the

consideration that the foes of Danton, who were stanch supporters of Terrorism, would be far more serviceable to him for the completion of his system than Danton, abandoned him to them.

Desmoulins had, like Herault-Sechelles, a personal enemy in St. Just. In an altercation between the two latter, Herault had told St. Just that he was a coward whom a man might kick twenty times without his resenting it. The affront was not answered by a challenge; St. Just chose rather to send his antagonist, one of the handsomest and most interesting men in France, to the guillotine. Desmoulins had jocosely remarked, in reference to the affected gravity and stiffness with which St. Just held his head, that he carried it like the St. Sacrament; on which St. Just declared that he would make him carry his in a different fashion, namely, like St. Denis. Though Danton was informed of the intentions of Billaud and Robespierre, he observed that they would not dare to execute them; and when Thibaudeau warned him, he replied: "If I had the least idea of that, I would tear him in pieces with my teeth." At length he was convinced of the impending danger, but nothing could rouse him to exertion. Westermann offered to collect an armed force, which Danton declined; another proposed flight, on which he asked if a man could carry his country away on the soles of his shoes. Desmoulins declared that he would share Danton's fate, whatever it might be.

Great rejoicing took place in the prisons as soon as the fall of Hebert and his party was known there; for all the friends of order and humanity conceived that the reign of blood was now at an end, and that Robespierre had united with Danton to establish the power of the law. The disbanding of the revolutionary army, with

the exception of the artillery commanded by Henriot, seemed to confirm this cheering hope, when, on the 31st of March, all Paris was filled with astonishment, on learning that Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Lacroix, and Herault Sechelles, the advocates of moderation, had been apprehended in the night.

To put an end to the system of terror, Robespierre must have possessed the authority of a legitimate government, or the combined qualities of the statesman and the hero. The lawyer of Arras, so far from being this extraordinary genius, was but an enthusiast filled with Rousseau's ideas, who fancied himself a profound thinker and a great orator, when the works of that eloquent writer occasionally suggested to him sparkling ideas. In one of his prolix speeches he asserted that France would enter into possession of all the benefits prepared for her by the revolution, when she had exchanged the character of an amiable, giddy, and wretched people for that of a magnanimous, powerful, and happy nation, or all the vices and absurdities of the monarchy for all the virtues and marvels of the republic. "We will fulfil the wishes of Nature," said he, in the same speech, "complete the destiny of man, keep the promises of philosophy, and release Providence from the long rule of tyranny and vice."

But Robespierre knew no other way of solving this greatest of all problems than by transplanting the restrictions and punishments of civil legislation into the sphere of moral life. In founding the State exclusively on the virtue of the citizens, he could do no other than set up the earthly judge of actions for a judge of sentiments, and declare every one who fell short of his standard of civil virtue to be a criminal amenable to the sword of the law. The same confusion of moral and civil right had led of old the philosophers

of the Stoa to the terrible conclusion, that the smallest fault and the most heinous crime ought to be visited with the same punishment; now it turned an enthusiast into a sanguinary monster, who founded the most atrocious practice on the noblest principles, and stifled every humane feeling by the self-persuasion that unbounded severity is a duty incumbent on every good republican, in order to secure liberty against the reaction of corruption, of indifference, of slavish and aristocratic sentiments, of concealed royalism, and all the other elements of mischief conspiring for its destruction. With these false notions was associated a gloomy and imperious disposition. His enthusiasm did not raise him above the wish to require and to retain supreme power for the accomplishment of selfish ends; or the notion that he was a most virtuous being, above the feeling of a tyrant, which, as if to avenge mankind, racked him with its horrors. Left, from his character and his political principles, without any decided friend, he was rendered, by his position on the margin of the crater, more and more suspicious of those who thronged to his side; and, fearing lest he should be pushed down, he thought it better to get rid of them as bad republicans.

At the moment, therefore, when every one considered the union of Robespierre with Danton as decided, Robespierre caused his old colleague and his friends to be apprehended. Whether he was afraid to associate himself with a revolutionist who far surpassed him in courage and energy, or felt too weak to overcome the resistance which the other members of the Committee of Welfare, particularly Collot d'Herbois and Billaud-Varennes, were preparing against a moderate system, and dropped his coadjutors to save himself, or whether both motives operated together, and he sought in his

mistrust excuses for his weakness, he held at any rate the language of individual resolve. When, on the following morning, the Convention met, and Legendre spoke in defence of Danton, and praised his extraordinary patriotic exertions, the dictator set him down by this position: "The question now to be decided is, whether *one* man shall gain the victory over the country, and whether a number of ambitious hypocrites shall be held of more value than the French people. By what right is a preference claimed for Danton above his fellow-citizens! They only seek to save conspirators from the sword of justice who make common cause with them." By this rebuke Legendre was so alarmed that he recalled his defence.

A furious report by St. Just next developed the alleged conspiracy of Danton and his three associates against the republic; he artfully contrived to implicate in it the ultra-revolutionists, Chabot, Fabre d'Eglantine, Bazire, Delaunay, and Julien of Toulouse, already under accusation, besides seven other persons, the most distinguished of whom were Phelippeaux, the deputy, who had grievously offended the Jacobins by an unreserved exposure of the horrors committed in La Vendée, and Westermann, who had commanded one of the armies sent against the insurgents in that country. Sixteen persons differing so widely in sentiments, either utter strangers or enemies to one another, were exhibited in a report that had the air of a romance as accomplices in Danton's plan for the restoration of royalty.

Danton was accused of having treated with Louis; of being engaged in treasonable proceedings so far back as Mirabeau's time; of having sold himself to Orleans and Dumouriez; been attached to Lafayette and Brissot; revelled at Arcis-sur-Aube while the patriots

were persecuted; and concealed himself the night before the 10th of August. A decree of accusation against Danton, Lacroix, Desmoulins, Phelippeaux, and Herault-Sechelles, was assented to amidst applause. The revolutionary tribunal commenced its proceedings on the 2nd of April against the alleged conspirators, among whom were included, besides the persons already enumerated, Espagnol and Chabot's two wealthy brothers-in-law named Frey, army-contractors; Diedrichsen, a Dane; and Gusman, a Spaniard. A prodigious concourse of people filled and surrounded the Palace of Justice. When it came to Danton's turn to be examined, and he was charged with having participated in Dumouriez's liberticide plans, fired with indignation, he raised his thundering voice, pouring forth unconnected thoughts, as he was accustomed to do; sometimes insisting on his innocence, at others defying his judges, and again calling for death. "My voice," said he, "which has been so often lifted up for the cause of the people, will have no difficulty to repel calumny. The cowards who slander me, would they dare to attack me openly? Let them show themselves, and I will soon cover them with the disgrace and infamy which distinguish them. I have said, and I repeat it, my abode will soon be nowhere, and my name in the Pantheon. Life is a burden to me—I long to be rid of it." Herman, the president, observed that audacity was peculiar to guilt, calmness to innocence. Danton asked if they expected a cold defence from so stanch and decided a republican, and broke forth repeatedly into the most violent apostrophes; at times indeed his voice was so loud, as to be heard, through the open doors of the hall, on the other side of the Seine. To no purpose did the president talk of intemperate language; to no purpose did he

ring his bell. "The voice of a man who has to defend his life," cried Danton, "must drown the sound of thy bell." The auditory began to murmur; and the president would not allow Danton to proceed. Lacroix, who followed him, launched out into invectives against his opponents in the Convention; and Phelippeaux, when the president reproved him for his vehemence, exclaimed: "You may kill me, but I will not let you insult me."

In the third sitting, Danton and Lacroix insisted that their witnesses should be heard, and that Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon should be summoned to be confronted with them. The affair seemed to the judges to become serious, and they extricated themselves from the dilemma as they had done in the case of the Girondists. Fouquier-Tinville and Herman wrote to St. Just, requiring instructions how to proceed. St. Just hastened to the Convention, and reported that the conspirators had insulted justice, maliciously adding a piece of information received from the municipality, that there were conspiracies in the prisons; and he thereupon moved that every accused person who insulted justice during his examination should be deprived of the benefit of further pleadings. A decree to that effect was accordingly issued. An intimation was sent to Fouquier-Tinville, and Danton and Lacroix were informed that they were to be tried only upon written evidence. When they protested against this course, Fouquier-Tinville appealed to the law authorizing the jury, after three days' debate, to find their verdict if they were sufficiently informed. Danton and Lacroix vehemently inveighed against the tyranny and barbarity of refusing to hear them; Desmoulins threw the defence, which he intended to read, in the faces of the judges: and it was necessary to use force to remove the prisoners from the

court. Amar, David, Vadier, and Voulland had come from the Committee of Safety to influence the sentence of the jury; and when four of the jurymen declared that they could not find the accused guilty, David said, "If you hesitate any longer, I will instantly denounce you." The verdict of the jury in consequence pronounced the prisoners guilty, and their sentence was—death.

In Danton's last conversations with his companions, he several times made use of very coarse expressions, acknowledged that during the revolution he had drunk pleasure in copious draughts, and presently thought of his wife with the tenderest emotion. He spoke of the institution of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and affirmed that it was not designed to be a scourge of humanity, but to prevent the recurrence of the September massacres. Desmoulins also left an amiable and noble-spirited wife, and his severest pang was to part from her. Both predicted the speedy fall of Robespierre as certain. "Robespierre will follow," said Danton several times; "I shall drag him after me;" and, in passing the residence of the dictator on the way to the scaffold, Desmoulins exclaimed: "Thou wilt follow us; thy house will be razed, and salt sown upon the spot!"

On the day of execution, April 5th, an innumerable concourse of people filled the streets around the Place de la Revolution. A considerable force of gendarmes and artillery escorted the cart. The people were quiet: their silence betrayed sympathy and fear. The diversity of the persons associated in one common fate afforded occasion for interesting comparisons. Phelippeaux exhibited the firmness of a good conscience. In Danton's countenance some read only that mortification which is felt by a villain when he is caught in the snare that

he has laid for his enemies; while others saw nothing but contempt of his cowardly allies, who had betrayed him to the common foe. On reaching the scaffold, Herault-Sechelles would have embraced Danton, but was prevented by the executioner. "You are more cruel than Death," said the latter; "he will not hinder our heads from embracing presently in the basket." As he surveyed the multitude with an expression of indignation at the victory of the crew by which he was slaughtered, the rabble began to raise their usual murderous shouts. "Silence," he cried, "ungrateful people, thou seest a genuine republican!" His last words were worthy of the author of the September massacres, submitting to the fatal stroke in the thorough conviction that annihilation awaited him. "My friend," said he to the executioner, "show my head to the people; it is worth the trouble." His wish was complied with; and the bleeding head and distorted features of a man whose character, even amidst prodigious crimes had been distinguished by a groundwork of magnanimity and generosity, proclaimed to the great and mighty of the revolution the fulfilment of Vergniaud's prediction, that this monster, like Saturn, would devour all her children in their turn.

Fabre d'Eglantine was sick to death, and yet concerned about the fate of a play which he had just written. Chabot and Bazire attempted to address the people; but the only words which could be understood were that Marat himself, if he had not been murdered, would like them have been accused and condemned. Herault Sechelles and Camille Desmoulins expressed indignation at having been mixed with people of such a different kind; and the latter, in particular, expressed some remorse for the levity with which, in the popular commotions, he had instigated the rabble to bloodshed.

His young wife, who, with Hebert's widow, had paid him a long visit in prison and attempted to set him at liberty by bribing his gaolers, was apprehended and sent to the guillotine a few days afterwards. Robespierre watched from a distance the execution of Danton and his fourteen companions, and rubbed his hands when it was over, as if to express his satisfaction.

Chaumette was executed on the 13th of April, with Gobel and some others of his own stamp, likewise the widows of Hebert and Desmoulins, Simond, a deputy of the Convention, and generals Arthur Dillon and Beysser, all together eighteen persons. Dillon and Madame Desmoulins were accused of conspiring to break out of prison and murder the two committees. Chaumette was destined before his condemnation to experience all the bitterness of moral annihilation. On his arrival in prison, he was received by its inmates with the most cutting scorn, on account of his exposition of the law of the suspected; wherever he turned, he encountered nothing but abhorrence.

Since the end of 1793, conspiracy and treason had been the standing grounds of accusation and condemnation. From the 2nd of January to the 13th of April 332 persons were executed, mostly as alleged conspirators. Among these were Custine the younger, marshal Luckner, bishop Lamourette, Mazuyer, member of the Convention, and Eulogius Schneider. In the last mentioned trial was first preferred the charge of prison-conspiracy, which soon became a regular item in the act of accusation.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SANGUINARY TYRANNY OF THE REIGN OF TERROR.

Till the death of Danton, the government of terror had shown some degree of moderation, at least when the scenes in Paris were compared with the enormities practised in the provinces. In the judicial murders, certain formalities were observed, and the unfortunate victims who appeared before the Tribunal could deceive themselves with hopes till the last moment, because they perceived a show of legal inquiry. They found an act of accusation, a list of the jury, witnesses, and advocates, for whose assistance they had to pay dearly; they examined their consciences, and found them guiltless. Many, therefore, especially such as were summoned from remote departments, went to trial full of confidence in the justice of their judges. An old counsellor of the parliament of Toulouse observed before his examination that he should not like to be in the place of his judges, for he should perplex them exceedingly; another even quoted passages from the Roman law in his defence. But, after the fall of Danton, the reign of Terror became more sanguinary; its measures were more severe; the judicial forms were abridged or omitted; and the whole living generation might fairly deem itself destined to the guillotine. A clever caricature, indeed, represented the French people as a mass of headless persons around a scaffold, upon which the executioner, by way of finale to the great tragedy, was guillotining himself.

This at first sight wholly incomprehensible tendency of tyranny to its own annihilation originated in the secret game carried on by the influential parties in the

bosom of the government committees. If Robespierre was continually impelled by fear and mistrust to fresh bloodshed, the other members of the Committees of Welfare and Safety strove to multiply the judicial executions, in order to throw the odium of them upon him, in whose hands, according to the general supposition, the whole power of the Revolution resided. On the one side, flattery and hypocritical friendship combined to deify Robespierre; and he was extolled in speeches and enthusiastic addresses as the legislator and father of the country, as the immoveable pillar of the one and indivisible Republic: on the other, republicans, royalists, and foreigners styled him the despotic ruler of France, and threatening letters announced the speedy reward of his execrable domination. By these contrary influences, his weak mind was thrown into a state of melancholy derangement; and, haunted by the phantoms of conscience, he waded deeper and deeper into the sea of blood, till he had gone too far to return. To protect himself, he surrounded with spies the members of the committees and of the Convention whom he distrusted—and he soon distrusted them all—and created a new system of general police, according to which all persons suspected of conspiracy were to be sent from every part of the republic before the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris; all ex-nobles and foreigners not belonging to neutral nations were to leave the capital, the fortresses, and the sea-ports of France; and all citizens were to denounce to their magistrates or to the Committee of Welfare every infringement of the law. Executions rapidly increased, for cart-loads of accused persons were brought from all quarters of France to the prisons of Paris, which relieved themselves by the daily transmission of other loads to the Tribunal and thence to the guillotine.

Some of these prisons were far from corresponding in their internal arrangements with the cruelty of the revolutionary system: they looked like large bathing-places, where the visiters, confined by bad weather to the assembly-rooms, passed the time in play and other amusements. In each of them was formed a numerous society, composed of the most diverse elements, united by one common lot. Elegance, politeness, respect, confidence, and the virtues tending to embellish life, banished from all other places in France, sought refuge in the vestibules of death; even the difference of rank and station was here softened down by misfortune. The presence of females diffused a certain cheerfulness: it soon became the fashion with the inmates to divest themselves alike of fear and hope. "We are all eighty years old," was the common saying. French levity survived as the only relic of the old national character: the prisoners strove to comfort and to please one another; and here, as at the place of execution, the weaker sex surpassed the stronger in firmness, composure, and unaffected resignation. It was the women who really reigned in the prisons; some by the force of religious feelings, which they even awakened in the breast of many a despairing freethinker; others by less unearthly sentiments, which they inspired and shared; others again by the example of the domestic virtues, which they sometimes practised here in the circle of their families. But not all the numerous prisons with which the destroyers of the Bastille had filled Paris presented such a pleasing aspect. In the Conciergerie, la Force, the Mairie, Plessis, and others, the utmost rigour prevailed; and in the first two, the prisoners had not only the certainty of death, but were exposed to the danger of some loathsome infection. Here they were associated with robbers and murderers, and treated much worse

than these. Real criminals might reckon themselves safe; their punishment was scarcely thought of; for them alone were reserved all the mild forms of judicature and the indulgence of the tribunals and of the jury.

On the contrary, the lives of the noblest of men were most wantonly sported with, as soon as they had fallen into the clutches of political suspicion. The acts of accusation were changed into absolute tables of proscription, which, printed after a particular form for all, needed nothing more than the insertion of the name to consign the bearer to the axe. The tribunals, without bestowing even a superficial notice on the papers delivered by the prisoners in their defence, ordered them to be brought in parties by messengers and gendarmes to their bar. In the middle of every night, they were wakened by a frightful uproar, and those selected for the next morning were summoned into the inner court of the prison to receive the papers containing the charges alleged against them, amidst execrations and abuse which doubled the horror of such an alarm, and with intervals which prolonged the anxiety of those who were trembling for themselves or others. Some of these papers seemed to be but laconic satires on the proceedings of the tribunal, and yet they contained undoubted sentences of death. Thus, on a summons delivered to a woman, there was nothing but these words: "A head that must absolutely fall;" and her petition for delay and investigation was rejected with the remark, "It matters not whether you are beheaded to-day or to-morrow." Another citizen received a slip of paper, with his name and the brief addition, "Suspected of being suspected to be deficient in civism." It was not rarely the case that persons were called who had already been guillotined, and as frequently

it was left to the gendarmes to take whom they pleased.

Before the tribunal only a short examination in general took place, while the jury lay yawning on the benches. "What is your name? Have you vilified the national representation? Have you calumniated the revolution? Have you circulated aristocratic writings? Have you formed liberticide projects?" Such were the only questions regularly put by the judge to the accused, who of course answered in the negative. The protocols were ready printed, and in each there were but a few lines to be filled up. After getting through the business so rapidly, many imagined, in the consciousness of their innocence, that there was nothing to prevent their release, till the intimation that they were condemned to die dispelled the illusion. About three in the afternoon, these long trains of victims generally left the tribunals, and slowly proceeded through the arched passages, lined on both sides by numerous spectators, who thronged thither with inconceivable curiosity.

At first fifteen persons only were put into one cart, which Barrère with cruel irony called a coffin for the living: they were afterwards crowded thirty together; and, shortly before the fall of Robespierre, preparations were made for executing one hundred and fifty persons at once. At the barrier in the faubourg St. Antoine, a trench was dug to receive the blood. Whole corporations, whole families, were slaughtered at once. Forty-five members of the parliament of Paris and thirty-three belonging to that of Toulouse were seen going to die with the same dignity as they had formerly displayed at public ceremonies: their crime consisted in having signed a protest against the decree passed by the first National Assembly for the dissolution of the parliaments.

The venerable Malesherbes, whose son-in-law Rosambo had preserved this unlucky paper, was conveyed to Paris with his whole family. The serenity of virtue forsook not the defender of Louis XVI. Having stumbled at the threshold of his prison, when going before the tribunal, he observed, smiling, "A Roman would have taken this for a bad omen and have turned back." His son-in-law had been executed a few days before: he himself was accompanied to the guillotine by his sister, his daughter, and his grandchildren, and beheld them all butchered before he was permitted to follow. Still he betrayed no sign of weakness, and his family proved themselves worthy of such a father. "You had the good fortune to save your father," said Madame de Rosambo to the daughter of Sombreuil, governor of the Invalides, who was again imprisoned; "I have at least the glory to die with mine."

Forty farmers-general were executed on a charge of having wetted tobacco with water, but, in reality, because the millions which they possessed excited the rapacity of the Finance Committee. One of these victims was Lavoisier, the celebrated chemist, of whom mention has already been made.

Fourteen young females of Verdun were condemned because they had danced at the ball given by the Prussians after they had taken that town. The very furies of the guillotine turned away with feelings of anger from the sight of so much youth and loveliness perishing under the hands of the executioner; but still more cruel appears the clemency which selected two of this pitiable party to languish twenty years in prison.

In general, as it has been already remarked, the butchers found particular gratification in the slaughter of females. Twenty peasant women of Poitou were executed on one day; they heard their sentence with

perfect indifference; and only one of them, who had an infant at the breast, uttered a piercing shriek at the moment when her child was taken from her. The barbarians continued unmoved. Madame d'Avaux, a lady of sixty, wife of an old lieutenant-general of Lyons, was doomed to die with him for no other offence than because she could not suffer her husband, who was aged and infirm, when summoned to Paris, to travel alone, but accompanied him thither. And yet these wretches had instituted a festival in honour of conjugal fidelity!

The numberless victims distinguished by their virtues, their names, or their fortunes, swallowed up by the Revolution at this period, seemed gradually to diminish the interest felt for them by their daily prolonged succession; and History itself has reason to fear that even in sensitive minds the strong feelings of horror and indignation at first produced may subside into indifference and the listlessness of lassitude. Still, in the endless lists by which the official journal of the nation attests the daily progress of human slaughter to doubting posterity, individual names are continually standing forth conspicuously, and claiming the sympathy even of a generation whose sensibilities have been entirely blunted.

Such a name is that of the princess Elisabeth, the sister of Louis, who, by the purity of her heart and the more than earthly self-denial with which she shared and strove to lighten the afflictions of her brother and the queen, richly deserved to be called the Angel of the Temple prison. After the removal of Marie Antoinette, she lived wholly for her daughter. Amidst increasing privations, including the want even of decent apparel and of light in the long evenings, the unfortunate descendants of so many kings had passed the winter; they

imagined that they had been forgotten in their cell, but this was not the case. The spring sun had begun to throw his genial rays into the cold atmosphere of the prison, when Elisabeth and her niece were planning works appropriate to their sex, which the lengthening days would enable them to undertake, when, on the 9th of May, she was torn from the arms of the royal orphan and conveyed to the Conciergerie.

Robespierre and Billaud-Varennes had long been at variance concerning the princess. The former wished to save her; but on this disposition Billaud founded a plan for the fall of the dictator. He demanded her head at the Jacobin club, under the idea that Robespierre would oppose the sacrifice, and thereby incur the suspicion of the people; but the pusillanimous dictator was silent, and Elisabeth was given up to the tribunal of blood. Having heard, on entering her new prison, of the queen's death, she could not doubt for a moment the fate that impended over herself: the accusations and the questions asked at her examination turned upon her participation in the conspiracy alleged to have been conducted by the king and queen against the liberty of the French people; and the sentence of death pronounced upon her was extended to twenty-four other persons, charged by Fouquier-Tinville with being accomplices in the same crime. Elisabeth cheered her associates in misfortune by religious exhortations and by the example of her fortitude. When in the fatal cart she was proceeding with them to the Place de la Revolution, she was seen conversing with the sister of Malesherbes and the widow of Montmorin, the minister, with the same ease as if she had been in the galleries of Versailles. The barbarians sought to revenge themselves by not allowing her to mount the scaffold till she had witnessed the execution of her twenty-four companions; she never-

theless ascended with firm step and smiling countenance.

Among the victims of this day was the family of Brienne, which, through two ministers of Louis XVI., had attained unenviable celebrity. The archbishop of Toulouse himself anticipated the judges by swallowing poison just before the arrival of the gendarmes sent to apprehend him. In general, however, fear of death was not shown; it became the fashion to die with the appearance of perfect composure; and frequently persons weary of life, and aspiring to place themselves for a moment on a level with people of quality, courted the honour of being imprisoned and condemned, that they might go to the guillotine in the company of princesses and countesses. This courage tended to excite new admiration, and to diminish, if not embellish, the hideousness of the daily butcheries, and to prolong their duration. The spectators were affected, painfully it is true, as by tragic representations, but not without that feeling of elevation, which the sight of a great soul crushed by affliction naturally produces. One female only, the ill-famed countess Dubarry, who had foolishly come over from England to save her annuities, went weeping to the scaffold, and when upon it begged her life with loud cries, which at first occasioned exclamations of scorn and contempt, but soon made such a horrible impression that many of the spectators quitted the place in unwonted consternation.

The number of those who ascended the fatal cart now increased from day to day. Fouquier-Tinville, summoned before the two committees, was reprimanded for not despatching the condemned with sufficient celerity: he was required to increase the number to one hundred and fifty, but raised objections. "When I returned from that meeting," he afterwards declared

at his own trial, "my soul was filled with such horror, that I seemed to be impelled by the waves of a sea of blood." This sting of conscience, if really felt, was only transient; and, by means of the most infamous expedient of introducing spies among the prisoners in the guise of partners in misfortune, and then bringing them forward as denouncers of invented conspiracies, it was contrived that so many as one hundred and sixty-nine persons should be dragged at once before the tribunal. Destitute of arms, shut up in a close prison, they were accused of having formed a plan for murdering the Convention and the Committee of Welfare, and all sentenced to die. But such was the misery prevailing in the prisons, from the infamous conduct and severity of the gaolers, the want of food, the loathsomeness of the air, and the continual terror of death, that several seized the opportunity, when a window was opened, to throw themselves out; while others mingled with those summoned to the guillotine, anxious to hear their own names called over, as though it had been to receive a prize.

Those who were not in confinement, not yet condemned, were scarcely happier than the inmates of the prisons, than those on the scaffold awaiting the fatal stroke; and many were not less agonized by the probability that the like lot impended over them, than they who felt themselves already in the grasp of death. The streets of Paris were filled before daybreak with women and children, who in crowds beset the houses of the bakers, butchers, and dealers in the necessaries of life. The law of the maximum had made Paris like a town in a state of famine. The shopkeepers were afraid of selling as of an authorized robbery, and nothing but the fear of death compelled them to ruinous sacrifices. This losing business was attended with

other mortal dangers. A decree imposed on them the obligation, likewise upon pain of death, to hang up at their doors a list of all their goods, with a precise statement of their quality and of the quantity on hand; and ever so slight an omission was liable to send them to prison and before the tribunal. The country-people brought with trembling their productions to the city. In the public places were seen no throng, no bustle, no brilliant equipages: the ear listened in vain for the rolling of carriages and the tramp of horses. Those quarters of the city, once inhabited by the favourites of fortune, were deserted. On most of the palaces was the inscription "National Property;" on other houses, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, or Death"—"Death to Tyrants and their Associates," or the like phrases, by which the anxious owners strove to demonstrate their civism. If a house was inhabited, a large board affixed to it exhibited the name, age, and profession of each of the inmates.

All customs were changed, all the relations of life were overthrown or deranged. As at the time of a contagious disease, people were afraid to speak to one another, and to talk of their connexions and their doings. The meeting in private parties was forbidden, or rather fear itself forbade it, and thus anticipated the measures of the Committee of Safety. Every one trembled lest he should betray in the streets any external signs of wealth, and took especial care to assume the garb of poverty, as an obvious ticket of safety. No one durst receive into his house a guest, a friend, a relative, who was not provided with a certificate of civism; for the refusal of such a certificate was equivalent to an order of apprehension; and many turned pale when they beheld a friend, for fear that he might ask them for an asylum.

The theatres alone were always filled: there fear sought an abode that was for a few hours unknown, or at least eluded for a brief moment the vigilance of the tyrants. At one period of the day only was the sullen silence broken: crowds of people were seen pouring in one direction, while other crowds were as hastily retiring in another: it was the moment when the condemned were conveyed to execution. When Night had flung her veil over the fearful realities of the day, the terrified imagination began its awful vagaries, which but too often led to cruel certainty. At home and in the bosom of his family, every one listened to the slightest noise outside the door. At the stopping of a carriage, at a stroke of the knocker, the blood curdled; the affrighted wife and children surrounded the father: it must betoken a domiciliary visit or an arrest, for nobody was in the streets at night but gendarmes and police-officers. Those who were harassed by the frequent repetition of these alarms envied the condition of the prisoners themselves; and escape from the den of murderers was almost impossible.

The barriers were open to persons entering the city, but closed against those whom fear would have driven away; there was nothing that perilled life so much as the examination of a passport. It was requisite that it should be submitted to a revolutionary committee, and then receive the *visa* of the commune. When all difficulties were surmounted, and the bearer had quitted the great prison of the capital, he found every where on his way overthrown crosses, demolished churches, chateaux in ruins. He met long trains of prisoners, whom sans-culottes of the revolutionary army were conducting to Paris; or he saw a haughty proconsul hastening to erect scaffolds in some department or other. In every town, nay, even in the villages, there

were revolutionary committees and Jacobin clubs, and before these the traveller was obliged to go and to answer their questions. In the space of thirty leagues the passport was covered with perhaps ten different *visas*, all of them obtained with great trouble. In many places one-fourth of the inhabitants were in confinement as suspected, and the meanest hut often sheltered proscribed persons with distinguished names. To others, mountains, caves, and woods, served for retreats, even in the depth of winter. Many an inmate of a forest, whose savage appearance seemed to bespeak a robber, was only an unfortunate fugitive. But what sights awaited the traveller, if his destination led him to Straburg, Arras, Lyons, Toulon, Marseilles, Orange, and other places inundated with blood!

In this gloomy picture of human aberration, bright points were not wanting; and numerous instances of heroic self-sacrificing affection and fidelity reconcile the wounded spirit with its deeply fallen species. The wife of the commandant of Longwy attended unobserved among the other spectators the sitting of the tribunal in which her husband was condemned to die. No sooner was the sentence pronounced, than a voice exclaimed, *Vive le Roi!* All present were filled with consternation, for each was afraid of being taken for the offender, till Madame de Lavergne made her way through the crowd and repeated the cry. It was to no purpose that some would have made her out to be a lunatic: she pronounced with perfect self-possession a declaration of royalist sentiments, and went cheerfully to die with her husband, whose gray hair her resignation rendered still more venerable. Some time afterwards, a sister imitated this example, that she might accompany her brother, and a young female to prevent separation from her lover. Several domestics of both

sexes obtained permission to attend on their employers in prison, and they followed them to the scaffold. Daughters who had been parted from their parents were seen upon their knees before members of the committees, imploring the favour of being confined in the same gaol with them: it was not rarely the case that the commissioners, touched with compassion, or smitten with their beauty, afforded them the means of separating their cause from that of their parents, and then commenced a generous but agonizing conflict between filial and parental affection. A man—his name was Loizerolle—who was shut up with his son in the prison of St. Lazare, heard the name of his son, who happened not to be in the hall at the moment, called over in the fatal list: he answered to the name, and, from the habitual inattention of the judges to the secondary circumstance of identity, he was executed instead of his son. In the same manner, a brother voluntarily suffered for his brother, whose life he thought of more value to a numerous family than his own.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DOWNFALL OF ROBESPIERRE.

Meanwhile the gloomy spirit of Robespierre was racked by the conflict of insensate principles and an alarmed conscience. To pacify the latter, and to give a foundation to his phantasy of a universal virtue supporting the whole State, he conceived the idea of reviving the belief in God and immortality, and erecting out of the ruins of the Church a temple of natural religion. With this view, the dictator came forward on the 7th of May, when blood was flowing in torrents,

and the most atrocious butcheries and enormities were perpetrated in all parts of the republic, with a long speech, in which he repeatedly launched out into verbose invectives against Pitt, against kings, and against the vanquished revolutionary parties, attacked atheism, and took great pains to represent the belief in God as a grand soul-elevating and tranquillizing moral idea.

The orator concluded his long-winded harangue, the religious part of which was in fact a cold imitation of the confession of faith contained in Rousseau's Emile, with a motion for a decree to this effect: "The French people acknowledges the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; it acknowledges that the most worthy worship of the Supreme Being is the practice of the duties of man; it reckons among these duties detestation of tyranny and wickedness, the punishment of tyrants and traitors, the succour of the unfortunate, indulgence towards the weak, the defence of the oppressed, readiness to do for others all the good that is in our power, and universal justice." He proposed that thirty-six festivals should be instituted, to remind man of the Deity, and the dignity of his own nature; among these, besides the festival of the Supreme Being, were to be festivals dedicated to liberty and equality, to truth, to modesty, to heroism, to prosperity, to misfortune, to hatred of tyrants, to universal liberty, &c. The proposed law was adopted with general applause; the bloodthirsty men who, a few months before, had applauded the blasphemies of Hebert and Chaumette, were as eager to acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being, as if the point at issue had been the transient existence of some new republican creation; and the first festival was fixed for the 20th of Prairial (June 8). On the approach of that

day, Robespierre was elected president, as he purposed to make the festival of the Supreme Being a triumph for himself. Some of his colleagues were puzzled, and knew not what to make of the singular ideas of the dictator, but continued to bow with their accustomed servility to the possessor of power; others, as Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, laughed or gnashed their teeth at the new priesthood of superstition, for as such they regarded Robespierre's confession of faith, and hoped to discover some point on which their rival might be assailable.

The 8th of June arrived. At five in the morning all Paris was roused by the drums. The houses were decorated with flags and flowers. The sections assembled; only the youths between 14 and 18 years of age were armed; those of each section were formed into a square, in the middle of which were the colours. The men carried oak branches in their hands, the married women bouquets of roses, the unmarried baskets of flowers, both dressed in white, and having flowers in their hair. About eight the festive train arrived, amidst the firing of cannon at the National Garden (the garden of the Tuileries,) where an amphitheatre was erected for the Convention. Robespierre delivered a speech full of the standing phrases respecting the miseries of tyranny and the delights of republican freedom. When, with elevated voice, he exclaimed: "Let this day be devoted entirely to peace, entirely to happiness!" a gleam of hope darted across many a mind; but it was speedily dispelled when he added: "To-morrow we will resume our labours, and with renewed energy overthrow all traitors." He then descended, and, with a torch, set fire to a group of figures representing atheism supported by ambition, selfishness, discord, and false simplicity, through whose

rags peeped the insignia of royalty. From the flames which consumed them arose a figure of wisdom, blackened, it is true, by the smoke. Robespierre then terminated his speech, worthy of these puerilities, with the pathetic words: "Frenchmen, ye are warring with kings; therefore ye are worthy to worship the Deity. Being of Beings, thou knowest the work of thy hands. Hatred of wickedness and tyranny inflames our hearts, together with love of justice and of our country; our blood flows for mankind. This is our prayer, this our sacrifice, this the worship that we pay to thee!"

The procession then moved towards the Champ de Mars; the members of the Convention, distinguished by ears of corn, and attended on either side by the representatives of the four periods of life, with a carriage drawn by four oxen, containing implements of the arts and trades. In the Champ de Mars was raised a mount, on the summit of which stood a tree of liberty. On the mount were seats for the Convention. There was no want of hymns, chorusses, wreaths, oaths, acclamations, rolling of drums, and thunder of cannon. In an ode composed for this day by Chenier, there was a palpable allusion to Robespierre as the French Hercules; and the face of the dictator is said to have beamed with delight. The impression made by this festival on his adversaries, however, was far from agreeable; the cry of "*Vive Robespierre!*" was to them the proclamation of the odious dictatorship, which he seemed to attain as khalif of the new worship. In others suspicions of his ambitious designs were only then first awakened. The festival served for a warning to desertion from him, and as a signal for accelerating the preparations for his ruin.

Robespierre knew his enemies; he too prepared himself. The festival was intended to procure him an

accession of strength for the struggle which he had announced, when he said: "To-morrow we will combat vices and tyrants with renewed energy. As he shunned the conflict of open force, it was necessary to adopt a new form, under which, with the semblance of legal authority, violence might be exercised. St. Just was absent on a mission to the army of the North; Robespierre therefore consulted Couthon alone, without communicating his intention to the other members of the Committee of Welfare. Such was the origin of the execrable law of the 22d of Prairial, the culminating point of the system of terror.

By this decree, projected for the purpose of accelerating the movements of the revolutionary tribunal, all those were declared enemies of the people who should endeavour to injure liberty, either by violence or by craft. Besides the partisans of loyalty, adversaries of the national representation, and actual traitors to the State, who were in concert or connexion with foreign foes, those were to be considered as enemies of the people who had obstructed the supply of Paris with provisions, and contributed to the dearth of bread in the French republic; all those who had favoured the impunity and escape of conspirators and aristocrats, persecuted or calumniated patriotism, corrupted the representatives of the nation, overstrained the principles of the revolution, and distorted the laws and measures of the government by false interpretations; all who had led the people or their representatives to wrong steps, occasioned despondency, circulated false intelligence, misled public opinion, corrupted public morals, stained the purity of the republican principles, or impeded their progress by counter-revolutionary writings, and other machinations; all knavish contractors and dishonest administrators of the money of

the State, all public officers who had employed their authority in favour of the enemies of the revolution, and to the detriment of the people; lastly, all who had in any way attacked the liberty, unity, and safety of the republic, or prevented their consolidation—all these offences were to be punished with death. As evidence for condemnation, every kind of document, material or moral, verbal or written, was to suffice, and the conscience of the jury was to be the only rule of the sentence. Every citizen was to have the right, and to be held bound, to denounce conspirators and counter-revolutionists; but the prerogative of sending criminals before the tribunal was to be vested exclusively in the Convention, the Committees of Welfare and Safety, the representatives of the people, and the public accuser. The examination of criminals was to take place in public only, and, in case there existed material or moral proofs, the testimony of witnesses was unnecessary. "The law," it was said, "gives patriotic juries as defenders to calumniated patriots; it denies them to conspirators." When a person had once been brought before the tribunal, the public accuser was not to have the right to release him without previously reporting to the Committee of Welfare whether the prisoner was found guilty or not.

Two days after the festival of the Supreme Being, this law of blood was submitted to the Convention by Couthon, in the name of the Committee of Welfare. It was evident that, under the operation of so sweeping a measure, no man's life in France could be safe for a single hour. Well might Ruamps exclaim, in the discussion of this law, that, if it was carried, all they could do would be to blow out their brains. The vehement opposition which it encountered from some members was met by Robespierre with keen acrimony;

and those who ventured to animadvert on the dangerous tendency of some of its provisions were treated as propagators of sedition and insurrection, as partisans of the Gironde, and champions of aristocracy. Not the slightest remark was allowed to be made on clauses the most grossly absurd, and involving in themselves the destruction of all liberty. An appeal to the Mountain, in which one of the deputies opposed to the measure strove to justify his republicanism, was represented by Robespierre as an attempt to divide the Convention; and a restriction already adopted, by virtue of which the right of accusing members of the Convention should be vested in that assembly alone, was revoked as offensive to the Committee of Welfare. Bourdon of the Oise, who made the appeal just mentioned, heard himself designated in the speech of Robespierre as a base hypocrite; and, when he hazarded a timid excuse, the dictator launched against him the terrible denunciation, "I name no man; woe be to him who names himself!" Thus the representatives of the nation were obliged to sign their own death-warrant.

The immediate occasion of this new stretch of authority was an abortive attempt of one Lamiral to assassinate Collot d'Herbois. Robespierre, that he might not be left behind his rival, coupled with it a circumstance which happened to himself. A young woman, named Cecilie Renaud, who inquired for Robespierre at his residence, and betrayed some embarrassment, was apprehended as a second Charlotte Corday. Though no weapon was found about her, and Lamiral stedfastly adhered to his declaration that he had no accomplice, Fouquier-Tinville soon devised a fictitious conspiracy, and implicated in it more than sixty persons. The girl, on being questioned why she went to Robespierre's, said that she wished to know how a

tyrant looked. She was sent to the guillotine with her father and two aunts, and her two brothers were brought from the army to undergo the like fate, which they escaped only by the downfall of the dictator.

Among the victims slaughtered on account of this alleged conspiracy, was Sombreuil, formerly governor of the Invalides, whose daughter had rescued him from the hands of the Septembrisers, and the whole family of Sartine, among whom the wife of the younger Sartine, only nineteen years of age, transported the bloodthirsty connoisseurs present, and extorted loud praises of her beauty from the furies of the guillotine. As the attempts at assassination were charged by the orators of the Convention to the account of the British ministry, a decree was issued, that in future no quarter should be given to English or Hanoverians.

At this time, the decemvirs of the Committee of Welfare were at the height of power; but they were already at variance among themselves. Billaud-Varennes and Robespierre watched one another with gradually increasing jealousy. It was more rarely that they agreed respecting the victims of their fury; the one frequently refused his assent to the destruction of those marked out by the other, not from humanity, but to mortify his rival; and it was only through this schism that many deputies devoted to death, (Legendre, Courtois, Bourdon, Tallien, Lecointre,) escaped the guillotine. These and about thirty other members of the Convention had ceased, ever since the apprehension of Danton and his friends in the night, to sleep at their own homes, lodging sometimes at one place, sometimes at another. At length, weary of Billaud's incessant contradictions and opposition, Robespierre absented himself entirely from the Committee. Under circumstances of such importance, nothing could have

been more injudicious than this pitiful revenge of wounded pride: Robespierre lost through it his grasp of the helm, and had, moreover, the mortification to see some religious fanatics, to whom he had afforded a sort of timid protection, Catherine Theot, a pretended prophetess, and Dom Gerle, an ex-Carthusian, apprehended through Billaud's contrivance, and executed. Still he continued, by means of Couthon, St. Just, and Lebas, his faithful adherents, in communication with the Committee of Welfare, and continued every day to mark out for the revolutionary tribunal those whom it was to condemn on the morrow. The revolutionary committees, the Jacobin club, the revolutionary tribunal, the armed force, and the commune of Paris, still held the wild energies of the Revolution in readiness for his service; and it was owing more to want of firmness than want of power, that he had suffered Billaud to gain the ascendency. During the whole party-struggle, Danton had been the most efficient actor on all important occasions; while Robespierre had not always been able to conceal his cowardice: now, at the decisive moment, when he found himself, for the first time, alone at the head of his faction, he was timid and vacillating.

Fleuriot-Lescot, successor to Pache as mayor of Paris, Henriot, commandant of the National Guard, Payan, procureur of the commune, and Dumas, president of the tribunal, all of them creatures of Robespierre's, concerted a plan for exciting a popular insurrection, like that of the 31st of May, 1793, against the Convention, and causing all the members of the opposite party to be apprehended or put to death without ceremony. It was proposed that a procession, to be held in honour of a boy of thirteen, who had been killed on the banks of the Durance, through some

ordinary accident, but of whom the Jacobins had made a martyr of liberty, should afford occasion, first, for a stoppage, and presently for a tumult, during which the murderous plan should be carried into execution. Robespierre, however, either imagined that it was necessary to prepare the minds of the people, or, with his immediate friends, St. Just, Couthon, and Lebas, he chose to make the Convention the theatre of his triumph, and to conquer rather by rhetorical phrases than by swords and daggers. The former weapons, the only ones that the French Hercules, as some of his flatterers denominated him, knew how to wield, had so often rendered him good service, that he had no doubt of their efficiency on the present occasion.

Under this infatuation, he betrayed his secret himself, by complaining bitterly, on the 16th of Messidor, and the 3rd of Thermidor, in the Jacobin club, of the misrepresentation and calumny to which, in spite of the purity of his motives, he was exposed at every step. The Jacobins strove to cheer him by professions of attachment; but those members of the committees and of the Convention, who knew that they were hated by him, became aware that it was necessary to hasten their measures of defence. It is alleged, moreover, that a proscription list, found in the possession of a juryman who was apprehended, and delivered to the Committee of Welfare, was headed by the names of Barrère, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Bourdon, Tallien, and Freron. Certain it is that, from mutual fear of Robespierre's sanguinary infatuation, which spared neither friend nor foe, an association of several deputies, both of the violent and moderate party, was formed against him.

Among these was Tallien, one of the most furious terrorists, who had even participated in the September

massacres, and been their eulogist. Sent on a bloody mission to Bordeaux, he was led, through the influence of the charms of the equally beautiful and intellectual Madame de Fontenay Cabarrus, to adopt a more humane line of conduct, and not only granted her own release, but that of several of her fellow-prisoners. Robespierre's fury was excited, for in such motives he could discover nothing but a weakness unworthy of stanch republicanism. Tallien was recalled; and soon perceived, from signs not be mistaken, that both himself and his mistress were destined to destruction. In the discussion of the law of the 22nd of Prairial, in particular, when Tallien sided with the opposition, the dictator let him feel the full weight of his hatred and contempt. From that day, Tallien and those of the like sentiments were drawn closer together; but they had not yet concerted any plan, when Robespierre, informed by his spies of the suspicious meetings of those deputies, brought ruin upon himself by a premature commencement of the conflict.

On the 8th of Thermidor (July 26th), Robespierre appeared unexpectedly in the Convention, with the look and bearing of a superior come to put a stop to some misconduct. In a long speech, he first extolled his virtues, his labours, his patriotism, and declared all opponents to his beneficent plans calculated for the general welfare enemies to the people: he then expatiated on the weak and lukewarm spirit manifested in the acts of the government; condemned the non-fulfilment of the decree issued against the English; ridiculed the vanity with which certain persons (Carnot) arrogated to themselves the glory of the armies; lamented the persecution to which the best patriots were exposed; and deplored the wasteful and dishonest management of the revenue. "For at least four

decades," said he, "I have been obliged to renounce public business, but my eye has incessantly watched over the welfare of the State. The committees contain, it is true, the strongest pillars of the State, but most of them are crippled; while, on the other hand, plots are hatched; and if this were to continue, the Republic must fall. I shall shortly take occasion to communicate the measures by which alone the country can be saved."

As soon as he had finished, his partisans, amidst servile praises, moved that his speech should be printed and distributed. Those whom he had attacked were sensible that, if they omitted to reply, they should be delivering themselves up, bound hand and foot, to death; and Cambon, president of the finance-committee, mustered courage to defend his administration against Robespierre's imputations. In the discussion which ensued, the dictator turned pale, and showed how ill he was prepared for any serious resistance. Cambon followed up his advantage. "I know but one," he exclaimed, "who strives to paralyze the will of the Convention, and that one is Robespierre." No sooner were these words uttered than Billaud and Panis came forward to attack the accuser. In vain he strove to retract or to moderate his too hasty charges: these indications of weakness served only to encourage his assailants; while the assembly perceived with astonishment that he was no longer the ruler of the committees, and heard with secret joy the tyrants before whom it had hitherto trembled with slavish fear accusing one another, and calling upon it as umpire. For a while it wavered in its determination, as the timid moderates knew not whether to side with Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just, or with Billaud, Collot, Vadier, and Cambon; for one of the latter had gone so far as to reproach Robespierre with the indulgence he had shown in seeking to

save some of the enemies of the Revolution. At length, the party which was desirous of avenging Danton's death gave the preponderance to his apostate allies; and the dictator retired, like one half vanquished, from the field of battle. The printing and distribution of his speech, though sanctioned by one decree, were revoked by another.

In the evening, Robespierre sought aid and consolation in the club of the Jacobins, who received him as their patron and master. On the motion of Couthon, Billaud and Collot were expelled from the club. Dumas proposed to clear the Convention from all impure members; that is to say, from all opponents of Robespierre, and produced a list of them; and Henriot offered the armed force for the immediate execution of the suggestion. Robespierre himself damped the boldness of his partisans by a despondence bordering on despair. "I am ready," he whined, "to drink the bowl of Socrates." To no purpose David strove to raise his spirits by declaring that he would share the bowl with him. The club broke up without any demonstration of its strength. Robespierre anticipated victory from a speech which St. Just was to deliver the next morning in the Convention.

This disciple, thoroughly imbued with the fanaticism of his master, was involved the same night at the Committee of Welfare in a violent quarrel with his colleagues. He left them with the words: "You have broken my heart, and I will lighten it before the Convention." On the morning of the eventful 9th Thermidor (July 27) the assembly met at the usual time, but for some hours the parties only eyed each other with threatening looks. Towards noon, St. Just ascended the tribune. His unsteady step and his wild look betrayed the agitation of his soul. His speech

was a repetition of the charges preferred on the preceding day against the committees. "I was commissioned," said he, "to report to you on the scandalous manner in which public opinion has been for some time misled; but the means which I have to propose are not sufficient to remedy the evils by which the Republic is afflicted. Against complaints so severe a little balsam is of no avail: the solid flesh must be cut into, and the gangrened members lopped off without mercy." At these words the spokesman of terror was interrupted by violent tumult. Several voices demanded a hearing. Robespierre, who rushed towards the tribune, was thrust back with cries of "Down with the tyrant!" and Tallien gained possession of it.

"The veil shall be torn off," said he, emboldened by the prospect of victory presented by the conflict; "the moment of our union, our energy, our liberty, is arrived. And," turning towards Robespierre, "tyrant, thy misdeeds shall no longer be concealed! With my own eyes I read yesterday thy list of proscription; I was at the Jacobins when thou gavest up the representatives of the nation to the poniards of thy hired assassins!" Then, producing a dagger, he proceeded: "If the Convention hesitates any longer to place the criminal forthwith in a state of accusation, I will myself plunge the instrument of republican justice into his bosom."

The tumult increased in vehemence. The repeated efforts of Robespierre to obtain a hearing were drowned by shouts of "Down with the tyrant!" At first he bore the storm with apparent tranquillity; but, when accusation followed accusation, and the abyss into which he had plunged, in their turn, foes and friends yawned for himself, he lost his presence of mind, and his state

resembled that of a raving maniac: straining his voice to the highest pitch, he insisted on being heard, or on death. He was answered with cries of "Thou shalt have death, but the death of criminals." He ran to the president's chair, shouting, "President of assassins, for the last time I desire to be heard!" The only reply was the bell, which had been ringing incessantly for an hour. He listened for a popular movement without; he addressed the populace in the galleries, but these, at first kept in check by the agents of his enemies, soon vied with the legislators in loading with invectives the man who was so lately extolled as the saviour of French liberty. At last, he turned with affected composure to the more moderate centre, whose members he had so often styled, in scorn, "toads of the marsh." "From you, virtuous men," said he, "I demand the justice that every accused person has a right to expect, and not from these wretches," pointing to the Mountain. "I have saved you from the fury of those who now persecute me; assist me, or be assured that you will perish along with me." The relics of the Gironde rejected the appeal of the murderer of Vergniaud and Brissot; and Durant de Maillane called out to him, "Miscreant, Virtue, whose name thou profanest, will drag thee to the scaffold!" At length his voice failed, and he sank panting upon a bench. "Wretch," cried the person who sat next to him, "dost thou not feel that Danton's blood is choking thee!"

A decree of accusation was voted by a general rising of the members. "I desire to share the fate of my brother," cried the younger Robespierre; and the decree was immediately extended to him, as well as to Couthon and St. Just, who sat in pale consternation, and likewise to Lebas, the only one who had made a faint effort to defend his master. The gendarmes conducted

them to the Luxembourg; but, so little precaution had been used on this occasion, that at the gate of this prison they were rescued by a band of armed Jacobins, and carried in triumph to the Hotel de Ville, where the municipality, devoted to their interest, was assembled. Henriot, who had been placed in a state of accusation before Robespierre, and apprehended by a division of gendarmerie, was as quickly released by Coffinhal from the custody of the Committee of Safety; and the Convention soon received intelligence that the persons arrested by its order were making preparations to bring its decrees back to it at the head of an armed force.

Collot at once declared that the good cause was lost, and, in evident alarm, exhorted the legislators to swear that they would die without flinching upon their curule chairs. Tallien, Freron, Barras, Legendre, and others, proposed more energetic measures. "Let us thank fate," exclaimed one, "that the conspirators are rising, and sparing us the danger of trying them." Robespierre and his associates, Henriot and the municipality, and all civil officers who should obstruct the execution of the mandates of the Convention against them, were immediately declared outlaws; Barras was appointed commandant of the military force; and a number of deputies were sent to assemble the sections, and to arm them for the Convention. They accomplished the object of their mission. Legendre proceeded with a detachment to the Jacobin club, the most resolute of whose members were at the meeting of the commune and in Henriot's bands, cleared this focus of the insurrection, and carried the keys to the Convention. The sound of the alarm-bell at the Hotel de Ville was drowned by the drums, which were ordered by Barras to beat the generale. Only four or five battalions,

however, were as yet drawn up; but the urgency of the moment forbade waiting for reinforcements. In hopes that, as it had grown dark, the night might veil the smallness of their number, he praised them for their zeal, and for being the first on the spot, promised them reward, and exhorted them to crown their work by seizing the tyrant. These battalions were partly composed of mechanics and workmen, the decrease of whose earnings had filled them with dissatisfaction at the daily slaughter of those who used to give them employment. As soon as Barras had convinced them that he derived his authority from the Convention, they had no hesitation to march to the Hotel de Ville against the author of the public misery and his outlawed partisans.

These had wasted valuable time in uncertainty. Robespierre betrayed in sullen stupor his total incompetence to sustain the part to which the artful use of party-influence and rhetorical sophistry had raised him. When Barras advanced with his battalions to the Hotel de Ville, he met with no resistance. Heroes while there was nothing to do but to turn phrases and send defenceless persons to the guillotine, none of the leaders of factions had the courage or the skill to try the fortune of arms, and at the head of their bands to fight for their cause and their lives. As soon as the decree of outlawry against the municipality was read in the Place de Grève, the armed force collected there for its defence began to disperse: Henriot hastened to the hall, where the members of the municipality were assembled, and cried that all was lost. Coffinhal, enraged at his incapacity, threw him out of a window into a sewer, where he was not found till the following morning.

Barras and Freron led two columns against the Hotel de Ville. Leonard Bourdon was the first that rushed

up the stairs to the hall of meeting. On the entrance of his followers, Robespierre fired a pistol at his own head, but only wounded the lower jaw; Lebas killed himself on the spot; Robespierre the younger flung himself from a window, but survived; Couthon was found on the Quai Lepelletier, and dragged back with kicks and abuse; and St. Just was motionless when seized by the gendarmes.

About two in the morning, the Convention received intelligence of its victory. Robespierre was carried on a hand-barrow into a room in the Tuileries, where his wound was bandaged, and then conveyed to the Conciergerie, the vestibule to the guillotine: he appeared indifferent to every thing that passed, uttering no sound either of anger or pain: Couthon, St. Just, Dumas, and the rest were likewise sent to the Conciergerie. The Convention separated at seven o'clock and met again at nine.

The same morning, Robespierre and his associates were carried before the revolutionary tribunal, to be thence despatched to execution. Though nothing more was required but the identification of the persons, the tribunal took almost the whole day for this formality; perhaps because it was unwilling to condemn its own president and vice-president, Dumas and Coffinhal; or because Fouquier-Tinville wished to gain time in hopes of a turn. The state of the fallen dictator was horrible. With his jaw bound up, he lay speechless upon a table. In this condition a man of the lower class is related to have approached, and, after surveying him a considerable time with silent attention, to have exclaimed: "Yes, Robespierre, there is a God!"

Towards evening, the whole train, consisting of the two Robespierres, Couthon, St. Just, Henriot, Dumas, Payan, Fleuriot-Lescot, and fourteen other members of

the municipality, among whom was Simon, the shoemaker, the tormentor of the unfortunate dauphin, were conveyed in carts to the guillotine. Most of them were hideously disfigured with blood and dirt, especially Henriot, who had his legs broken and an eye knocked out by his fall. Robespierre was in the same dress that he wore at the festival of the Supreme Being. The rabble made the cart stop before his door, and danced around it. Among those who vented execrations against him, the loudest were men who like himself had spilt blood in torrents: Carrier, for one, kept shouting the whole way, "Death to the tyrant!" When, on reaching the scaffold, the executioner removed the bandage from his wound, and left him exposed for a while to the gaze of the people, his face presented a ghastly sight. On the following day, 11 Thermidor (July 29), seventy-one members of the outlawed municipality were sent to the guillotine; on the 22nd twelve more, and on the 28th, Coffinhal, vice-president of the revolutionary tribunal.

In the forty-five days that Robespierre absented himself from the Committee of Welfare, 1286 persons were executed—from the 10th of June to the 27th of July, 1400. Even during the final struggle with Robespierre in the Convention, 45 persons were sent to the guillotine. Among the victims of these days were the prince of Salm-Kirburg, general Beauharnais, André Chenier, and the well known baron Trenk. Even on the 27th of July, when some who had heard of the proceedings in the Convention would have liberated the persons doomed to die on that day, the infamous Henriot, coming up just after his own deliverance from confinement, ordered the guard to take the prisoners to their place of destination. Such was the alacrity of this bloodthirsty ruffian, only a few hours before his own

catastrophe, to fulfil the sanguinary behests even of those in whom he could not fail to recognise his own executioners; for the victors on the 10th of Thermidor had at least as great, if not a greater, share in those judicial butcheries, as Robespierre and his associates.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OPERATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN 1794.

Early in this year the leaders of the French government, irritated by the persevering and dangerous hostility of the British ministry, began, in the pride of victory, to threaten England with invasion. This threat served only to rouse the spirit of the nation to increased exertion. An act of parliament was passed for embodying and training associations of volunteers, horse and foot, for the defence of the country, and the expenses of these associations were defrayed either by the members themselves, or by subscriptions. The example set by the capital, where the armed volunteers amounted to 20,000, was followed throughout the kingdom, and very soon there was not a town in the island but had its armed association, in which numbers of the most wealthy and respectable inhabitants were enrolled. For the naval service of the year, 85,000 men were granted without opposition, but the increase of the army to 60,000 was not carried without resistance. The total supply of the year exceeded £20,000,000; a loan of £11,000,000 was raised, and new duties imposed upon various articles to provide for the interest.

The attention of the government had been for some

time fixed on the seditious, if not treasonable, publications and practices of the societies which have been mentioned in a preceding chapter. On the 12th of May, parliament was informed by a message from the king that the papers of two of these societies had been seized; on the report of a secret committee of the House of Commons appointed to examine them, the operation of the habeas corpus act was suspended, and Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker in Piccadilly, secretary to the London Corresponding Society, and Daniel Adams, secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information, were apprehended. John Horne Tooke, John Thelwall, Thomas Holcroft, Jeremiah Joyce, and Stewart Kyd, were also arrested in a few days and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. It was not till the 25th of October that these persons were arraigned before a special commission at the Old Bailey. Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall only were brought to trial; and after lengthened proceedings a verdict of Not Guilty being returned in each case, the prosecution of the other prisoners was abandoned. Had they been indicted for sedition only, it is highly probable that the issue of these trials, by which the popular sympathy was most strongly excited, might have been different. Robert Watt and David Downie, tried in September on a similar indictment at Edinburgh, were both found guilty; the former was executed, the latter pardoned.

In the island of Corsica, favourable prospects had been for some time past opening for the English. Pascal Paoli, the leader of his countrymen in their struggle for liberty in 1759 and the following years, and who possessed extraordinary influence over them, continued to display great political and military energy even in advancing age. Stedfastly attached to Louis XVI., embittered by his fate against the Revolu-

tion, and virtually invested with the authority of a viceroy, he summoned the primary assemblies to meet at Corte in May, 1793, and persuaded them to agree to a reaction against the republican institutions. Among the noble families of the island, those of Bonaparte and Arena were known to be warmly republican. Three sons of the last representative of the former, Joseph, Napoleon, and Lucien, were of an age to take a part in public affairs. Napoleon, born in 1769, was acknowledged as the head of the family. Educated in the military schools of Brienne and Paris, where he was noticed for his proficiency in mathematics, he first served as lieutenant of artillery in the regiment of La Fère, and subsequently in that of Grenoble. In the beginning of 1792, he was appointed officer in a battalion of Corsican volunteers, soon afterwards captain in his regiment of artillery, and accompanied Truguet's expedition against Sardinia in 1793. Eminently distinguished thus far by firmness of character, military talents, and fiery zeal for the Revolution, Napoleon was at Corte when Paoli was preparing to abandon the cause of the Republic. He communicated his intention to the young officer, who most decidedly protested against it, and immediately quitted Corte.

The families of Bonaparte and Arena were now stigmatized as disturbers of the peace; and, having reason to fear that they should be exposed to the popular fury, they found means to escape to Marseilles. Paoli entirely threw off the mask; he caused Salicetti and the other commissioners of the Convention to be carried back to France, drove the republican troops into the forts of Bastia, Calvi, and St. Fiorenzo, imprisoned the most zealous republicans who could not, like the Bonaparte family, save themselves by flight, reinstated the priesthood and the monastic orders, and afforded an

asylum to emigrants. On the 17th of July, Paoli was declared a traitor by the Convention, and he entered, in consequence, into negociations with the English, and engaged to place the island under their protection.

Accordingly, in the month of February, 1794, lord Hood, who, after the evacuation of Toulon, had been lying with his fleet in Hieres Bay, sailed for Corsica. Troops landed in Fiorenzo Bay reduced the tower of Martello—the model of those towers named after it subsequently erected to defend the south-east coast of England from invasion — and likewise Fort Fornal; on which the French garrison of St. Fiorenzo evacuated that town and retired to Bastia. It was at the siege of the latter that Horatio Nelson, captain of the Agamemnon of 64 guns, who commanded the seamen co-operating with the land-forces on shore, began to render himself conspicuous by those talents and courage which distinguished the brief but most glorious remainder of his career. It was at this siege too that he was severely wounded in the head and lost the sight of one eye. Bastia capitulated, after an obstinate resistance, on the 22nd of May, and Calvi on the 18th of August. Meanwhile, Paoli had convoked a general assembly of the deputies of the island at Corte, where they framed a new constitution, conferring extensive privileges on the inhabitants, and uniting Corsica, as a fourth kingdom, with the British empire. Sir Gilbert Elliot was appointed viceroy.

Amidst the host of internal and external enemies arrayed against the rulers of France, they hated none so inveterately as the British government. Invectives against Pitt were daily launched from the tribune even to disgust, and the madness of impotent rage was carried so far as to cause him to be formally proclaimed a foe to the human race. If among other means of

annoyance the maritime superiority of England was employed in cutting off supplies bound to France, where considerable dearth prevailed, the most vehement outcries were raised against this exercise of the just right to withhold from an enemy the means of subsistence as well as those of offence; and it was denounced as a scheme of unparalleled atrocity.

In the month of May, a large fleet of valuable merchantmen was daily expected to arrive from North America, under the convoy of four sail of the line. It consisted of the whole of the West India trade, which in the preceding year had put into the Chesapeake, and there been joined by a great number of American vessels laden with flour. To ensure the safe arrival of this important convoy, the French government ordered the Brest fleet to sail in May for its protection. That fleet, composed of twenty-seven sail of the line, four of which carried 120 guns, commanded by admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, fell in, on the 28th of May, about 100 leagues west of Ushant, with the British Channel fleet under earl Howe, of twenty-six sail. A partial action ensued, in which a ship on either side, having disabled each other, parted company; but, owing to the roughness of the weather, it was the 1st of June before the British admiral could close with the enemy, who had meanwhile been joined by a ship of the line, making their number twenty-six, and leaving that of the English twenty-five: and it is remarkable that this is the first instance on record of the French waiting for a general action at sea on comparatively equal terms. It commenced about ten in the morning, when lord Howe, in the Queen Charlotte, passed through the centre of the enemy's line, followed by others of his ships, and poured such a fire into the Montagne of 120 guns, then the largest and the finest ship in the world, that the

French admiral, taking advantage of his opponent's loss of her fore-topmast, moved off with 300 killed and wounded. By one o'clock the action had ended with the centre, but the firing did not entirely cease till four, when Villaret, having collected his ships, five of which were dismasted, stood to the north-east, leaving his antagonist with seven prizes. One of these, the Vengeur of 74 guns, foundered before all her crew could be removed; only 280 men, out of 700 whom she took into action, were saved; and she went down, not according to the report of Jean Bon St. André, the commissioner, to the Convention, fighting with desperation to the last, but with the English jack flying over the republican flag, and without any of those shouts of "*Vive la République!*" attributed to her crew in the same lying document. To account for the absence of the ships which the English had taken, the commissioner stated that they were gone in pursuit of the beaten enemy.

Towards the end of 1793, a squadron, with troops under Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey, left England for the West Indies. Having rendezvoused at Barbadoes, they sailed on the 3rd of February to attack Martinique, the whole of which island was in the possession of the assailants by the 23rd of March, together with one hundred and twenty-five sail of merchantmen in the harbour. The French troops, commanded by general Rochambeau, engaged not to serve against the allies during the war, and vessels were furnished to convey them to France. On their arrival at Brest, they were thrown into prison by Prieur of la Marne, because they had not made a sufficiently vigorous defence.

On the reduction of Martinique, the British troops were re-embarked and sailed for St. Lucia, which was

completely reduced on the 4th of April. The small island called the Saintes was next attacked and carried, and the fleet then proceeded to Guadeloupe. A landing was effected at Gosier Bay, and on the 12th the strong post of Fort Fleur d'Epée was stormed. This success put the assailants in immediate possession of that portion of the island called Grande Terre; and on the 20th Basseterre surrendered by a capitulation which included the whole island, together with Mariegalante, Desirada, and all the dependencies of the government of Guadeloupe. The terms were the same that had been granted to Rochambeau.

The English were not long suffered to retain quiet possession of Guadeloupe. In the beginning of June, a French squadron from Rochfort landed 1500 men in Gosier Bay, attacked and carried Fort Fleur d'Epée, and thus made themselves masters of Grande Terre. The British commanders, on receiving intelligence of this event at St. Kitts, immediately took the most vigorous measures for recovering the island. Having collected all the troops that could be mustered, they landed a strong force at Gosier Bay, but, though the attack on Grande Terre was successful, they found it impossible to retake Fleur d'Epée. Victor Hugues, a man of daring mind and ferocious disposition, whose name was in the sequel so terrible in the West Indies, had brought out the decree for the cessation of slavery, which assured to the French the assistance both of the mulattoes and blacks, whom they had clothed and trained. On the commencement of the rainy season, the enemy had a still more effective auxiliary in disease, which rapidly thinned the ranks of the British force. One more effort was made to regain Point à Pitre; but, owing to the cowardice or the ignorance of the guides, it was repulsed with prodigious loss. The English

troops then retired to Basse Terre, where, under the command of general Prescott, they held out till the 9th of December, when they were compelled by fatigue, famine, and disease, to capitulate.

Since the revolt of the negroes in St. Domingo, great numbers of the planters had emigrated; many had removed to the neighbouring islands, some had sought refuge in Jamaica, and it was computed that no fewer than 10,000 had gone to different parts of the American continent. Most of these merely sought an asylum, where they could procure a subsistence in safety and quiet: but the principal of the planters, in the hope of regaining their lost possessions, repaired to Great Britain; and so early as 1791 overtures were made by some of this class to the British government, to induce it to send a force to St. Domingo, and to take the French portion of the island under its protection. Such a proposal, of course, could not then be listened to; but when, after the declaration of war, these offers of submission were repeated, with strong assurances of the concurrence of all the white inhabitants, instructions were forwarded to general Williamson, lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief in Jamaica, authorizing him to send all the troops that in his judgment could be spared to St. Domingo, and directing that terms of capitulation should be accepted from the inhabitants of such portions of the island as desired to submit to the British government.

At this time, the French had in St. Domingo a force of 22,000 men; 6,000 of these were blacks inured to the climate, about the same number Europeans, and the rest mulattoes and creoles: while a desperate band of rebel negroes, estimated to exceed 40,000, still continued in arms in the northern province, ready to pour down alike upon French and English, invaders and

invaded, and to envelop them in one common destruction. Such, however, was the reliance placed on the assertions of the planters, that the attempt to reduce St. Domingo was commenced with 870 men, who sailed from Port Royal on the 9th of September, 1793, escorted by commodore Ford in the Europa of 50 guns, and five frigates. On their arrival, the English were received as deliverers at Jeremie and Cape Nicholas Mole; while the French commissioners, on the first intimation of the attack, resorted to the desperate expedient of declaring by proclamation that all negro slaves resorting to their standard should thenceforward be free.

Disease, particularly the yellow fever, soon began to rage not only in our little army, but also in the ships of war. To recruit the losses sustained from this fatal scourge, general Williamson sent another detachment of between seven and eight hundred men, leaving the care of Jamaica to the care of fewer than 400 regular troops. Several parishes now submitted, and Cape Tiburon and Acul were taken: but, owing to the weakness of the invaders, no enterprise of importance could be undertaken. Eight months elapsed from the first landing before the arrival of the reinforcements expected from Europe, and by that time sickness had reduced the total number of British troops on the island to 900 effective men.

On the 19th of May, 1794, the squadron bringing reinforcements from England, under the command of brigadier-general Whyte, anchored in the harbour of Cape Nicholas Mole. No time was lost in attacking Port au Prince, which was speedily carried through the gallantry of the troops and the active co-operation of the ships of war. The detachment employed in this attack entered the town just in time to save that and

the shipping from being set on fire, agreeably to the orders of the commissioners. The value of the merchandize and shipping captured in the town and harbour was estimated at £400,000.

From this period, the occupation of St. Domingo by the English was marked only by disasters, in spite of the characteristic gallantry displayed by the troops. In September, general Horneck arrived from Jamaica to succeed general Whyte. Worn down by disease and incessantly harassed by the mulattoes under Rigaud, who had been appointed by the French commissioners to command in the southern part of the island, and who had retaken Tiburon, the British commanders were finally forced to evacuate St. Domingo. Every rational person must join in the opinion of Mr. Edwards, the intelligent historian of the West Indies, that, if no greater force could have been spared for this enterprise, it ought not to have been undertaken. At no time, he says, previous to April, 1795, did the number of the British in St. Domingo exceed 2,200, of whom, except at the capture of Port au Prince, not one half were fit for service, and in the sickly months not one third. A reinforcement of about 1400 men landed in April, and a second in the following August. The latter, the 82nd regiment, landed 980 men, of whom 630 were buried within ten weeks.

Towards the end of September, 1792, lord Macartney sailed in the Lion of 64 guns, with a suitable military and civil establishment, on an embassy from his Britannic majesty to the emperor of China. In August following the ambassador and his suite arrived at Pekin, and on the 7th of September at the palace of Jehol in Tartary, where the emperor admitted him to an audience. He treated the ambassador with respect, declared his willingness to continue the trade carried on with the

English nation, but could not be persuaded to enter into a written treaty. In the beginning of October, the ambassador, having delivered at Pekin the presents which he had brought from England for his imperial majesty, was ordered to leave his capital by a certain day, after having been strictly guarded and watched ever since he set foot in the Chinese dominions; so that, as one of his lordship's suite observes, they "entered Pekin like paupers, remained in it like prisoners, and quitted it like vagrants." In January, 1794, his lordship embarked at Macao for England, and arrived at Spithead on the 3rd of September, having attained no object whatever by this expensive expedition.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1794.

During the storms which raged in the interior of France, the military operations on the frontiers were continued without intermission; but the events of the war had no influence on the position of the parties in the bosom of the capital, as the Republic perceived that its existence was no longer threatened by all the efforts and successes of the allied powers. The latter continued to pursue the old vicious system of frittering away their forces upon too many points, and following skilfully combined plans, which miscarried in the execution, because, out of the many circumstances on the fortunate concurrence of which success depends, some are generally thwarted in the course of events, while more were frustrated by the disharmony prevailing between the courts and commanders. According to the plan framed by Mack for the campaign of 1794, the

main Austrian army in the Netherlands was first to besiege and reduce Landrecies, then to operate by St. Quentin upon Paris, covered on the left flank by the Prussians under Möllendorf, and supported by a corps of English and Austrians, which was to land in La Vendée.

At the time that the co-operation of the Prussians was reckoned upon as certain, king Frederick-William was on the point of withdrawing from the coalition. The issue of the two preceding campaigns, the serious aspect of affairs in Poland, and the exhausted state of his resources, made him heartily tired of this war. Peace with France, in the present tone of her rulers, was indeed out of the question; and the wish that the Empire, for the defence of which he had armed, would indemnify him for that portion of the burden which he had taken upon himself beyond his contingent as one of its States, offered a very natural expedient: but, in the Empire, princes and people were alike actuated by a narrow spirit, which spurned every sacrifice, and spared those powers which ought to have been expended in the defence of the country for its conquerors. "As Prussia"—such was the language held at Ratisbon—"was so eager to begin the war on her own motion, let her continue it as she can with her own resources." The consideration that the existence of the Empire was at stake, and that it was no time, when facing the enemy, for carrying on domestic quarrels, was overlooked. On the other hand, the elector of Mentz, archchancellor of the Empire, influenced by the views of his councillor of state, Johannes von Müller, who had recently entered the Austrian service, advised a general arming of the people in imitation of France. Prussia, however, manifested a dislike to this extraordinary measure, partly from attachment to the existing military

system, and a persuasion of the unfitness of undisciplined masses for war, partly from apprehension of the seditious spirit of the multitude. During these negotiations, Prussia went so far as to declare that she would not force her protection upon the Empire, but recall her army, excepting her lawful contingent of 20,000 men. England and Holland then interfered, and, by a treaty concluded at the Hague, undertook to pay a subsidy of £300,000 sterling, for the equipment and £50,000 per month for the maintenance of the army, while Prussia engaged to send 62,400 men into the field before the 4th of May. As this treaty was not brought to bear before the 19th of April, the Prussian field-marshal was obliged to decline compliance with Mack's requisition, addressed to him in the preceding month, to march by way of Treves to the Meuse. But, had no such political consideration existed, he could not leave the Upper Rhine uncovered, and expose Mentz to the attack of the French army of the Rhine and Moselle, which had been greatly reinforced, so long as the Austrian army of the Rhine, under the duke of Saxe-Teschen, at that time dispersed upon a cordon line in the Breisgau, was not under his orders, and its co-operation in the general plan of the campaign could not be reckoned upon with certainty.

The prince of Coburg, however, regardless of so essential a chasm in the plan of operations and of the absence of so important a part of the allied force, opened the campaign in the middle of April. The emperor Francis had himself joined the army, in order to raise by his presence the courage of his troops, and, under the shadow of his supreme command, to afford general Mack, whose plans were not universally approved, room to act with more freedom. The main army consisted of 90,000 men; 18,000 under Kaunitz,

were posted as the left wing near Mons, to observe Maubeuge and Philippeville, and to cover Charleroi and the Meuse; 25,000, under Clairfait, were, as the right wing, distributed in several camps, to cover West Flanders, though an attack of the French upon this province would have been equally aimless and dangerous, and Mack ought rather to have wished to draw them thither; but he was fearful, as in the preceding campaigns, of leaving a route open, as if the whole art of war consisted in guarding roads, and it were of great importance to secure Ypres if you purpose to march to Paris. The French army of the North was upwards of 150,000 strong, and commanded by Pichegru, a *protégé* of St. Just's.

On the 17th of April, the day after the emperor's arrival, the operations commenced with an attack by the Austrians in eight columns upon the French chain of troops, which immediately fell back without any considerable resistance, across the Oise and the Sambre. Landrecies was invested and violently bombarded, while the emperor repaired to Brussels to hold his *joyeuse entrée*, and, after taking the constitutional oath, a ceremony not observed since the time of Charles V., to be proclaimed duke of Brabant. Three days afterwards, on the 26th of April, he was again with the army, when the French made vain attempts to relieve Landrecies, which were attended with great loss, and cost general Chappuis, who conducted them, his liberty. In his possession was found a plan, which Pichegru was just then occupied in executing, for throwing his principal masses upon the wings of the allies, and, after rolling these up, enveloping their centre. The Austrian generals became undecided, and, after the surrender of Landrecies, on the 30th April, they remained for several days, with their whole main army, in the environs of

that place, for the purpose of putting it into a state of defence.

Meanwhile, Clairfait was attacked in West Flanders by a superior force, and beaten in several actions. Instead of relinquishing this unessential part of the theatre of war, allowing the French to penetrate into the morasses of Flanders and Zealand, and, after calling in Clairfait, marching upon the true object of the war —a movement which would have covered the vaunted wing-manœuvre of the French with ridicule—the prince of Coburg weakened himself still more by detaching the duke of York, with a considerable force, to the support of Clairfait at Tournay. On the same day, the Committee of Welfare sent orders to general Jourdan to reinforce the army of the Moselle with fifteen thousand men of the army of the Rhine, and, after leaving a corps to observe Luxemburg, to march with forty-five thousand through the forest of Ardennes, and form a junction on the Sambre with general Desjardins. This march was to decide the issue of the campaign.

The threatened flank-movement against the Austrians seemed for a while to have paralyzed their activity. After long indecision whether to turn to the right for Tournay, or to the left for Charleroi, the prince of Coburg at length set his army in motion, dispersing it still more on either side. Clairfait, in spite of the reinforcement sent to him, was beaten on the 11th of May, in a very bloody battle near Courtrai, by Souham and Macdonald. On the other hand, Kaunitz defeated the army of the Sambre under Desjardins, who purposed to cross that river and to push on to Mons, in an equally sanguinary engagement at Grandreny. The main army now decided on proceeding to West Flanders: after it had for a whole month been wasting blood and valour in useless actions, it was to annihilate

the main force of the French at a single stroke. The plan was again formed with great skill; six columns, marching from different points on the 17th of May, were to meet almost at the same moment near Turcoing. Excellent in theory, this plan failed in the execution; and, in consequence, an army superior in number, courage, and all other respects to the enemy, was foiled with considerable loss. Pichegru himself was not present either at this action or at any of the preceding; he was continually moving to and fro upon his extensive line of communication between the Lys and the Sambre. Arriving on the morning after the battle, he continued for three days inactive, and then, by an attempt to take a convoy, occasioned a renewal of the conflict on the 22nd, at Pont à Chin, in the environs of Doornik. The engagement was indecisive; and, after fighting with the utmost exasperation from dawn till late in the evening, both armies returned to their positions.

At the same time, the French on the Sambre repeated their attempts to cross, but with no better success. They were driven back on the 20th, 24th, and 26th. When, at length, the approach of the army of the Moselle under Jourdan enabled the French to threaten Charleroi, the emperor in person led a corps from Doornik, and, after a warm engagement on the 1st of June, the enemy were again obliged to retreat. This was the point on which at first the grand operation should have been directed; now all the advantages gained were counterbalanced by the arrival of the army of the Moselle, which took place on the 2nd of June, and increased the French force on the Sambre to 76,000 men.

The emperor then left the army and returned to Vienna. Mack also quitted the stage, and the

prince of Waldeck was placed at the head of the staff in his stead: still a predilection for complicated plans and piecemeal operations, in favour of particular points which were endangered, continued to prevail. Coburg nevertheless could not prevent the fall of Ypres and Charleroi. For the relief of the latter, he fought a battle on the 26th of June at Fleurus, which, towards evening, was on the point of being gained, when he received intelligence of the fall of the fortress, and gave orders to retreat: ready to sacrifice 10,000 men for the relief of a place reduced to ashes, he would risk nothing for the execution of a movement which might have made amends for all the disasters of the campaign. He left behind 14,000 men dead, wounded, and prisoners. The immediate result of the victory for the French was the possession of Mons.

Though the loss on both sides at Fleurus was pretty equal, though the French durst not follow up with spirit the advantages which they had won, and Pichegru was far from being the man to form great resolutions; still, generals, who were incapable of turning to account a long series of successful actions, after sustaining a loss, naturally felt themselves totally defeated. The whole allied army was soon in the most decided retreat. Brussels was abandoned to the enemy; the English and the prince of Orange thought only of covering Holland, the Austrians of pushing on towards Cologne and Coblentz, points of communication with Germany. Each of these separate armies moreover increased the danger of its situation by extended lines of defence, by which they designed to cover the countries in their rear, and exposed themselves to the danger of division and inglorious dispersion. In spite of all the faults committed by the French generals, owing to this mischievous system, the duke of York was driven by

Pichegru beyond the Dyle, and soon afterwards behind the Scheld to Breda, without being able to retain any of the famous old fortresses of that tract of country: the French who followed him found even the citadel of Antwerp evacuated.

Coburg, pursued by Jourdan and Kleber, marched by way of Liege, the inhabitants of which took up arms in favour of the French on their arrival, to Maestricht, where he halted to defend the passage over the Meuse. The French, however, advanced no farther, having received orders from the Committee of Welfare not to pursue the enemy till they had retaken the fortresses of Condé, Valenciennes, Quesnoi, and Landrecies. To accelerate their surrender, a decree was issued, declaring that all troops of the allied powers in those places, who should not surrender at discretion within twenty-four hours after being summoned, should be put to the sword: an earlier decree of the same barbarous kind had been carried into execution against the English found among the Austrians on the surrender of Charleroi, and likewise against the prisoners of the same nation taken in the battle of Fleurus. At other places, however, for instance at Nieuport, the spirit of the soldier revolted at this infamous measure devised by cowardly praters, which made Robespierre, in the speech which led to his fall, deplore, with republican grief, the non-execution of that decree. Landrecies surrendered on the 18th of July, six days after the trenches were opened, but the prisoners were not slaughtered. Ten days afterwards, the authors of the sanguinary decree perished under the guillotine.

While battles so eventful were occurring in the Netherlands, the operations of the combined Prussian and Saxon army of the Rhine were confined to mere affairs of posts. Möllendorf, even after he was apprised of

the departure of Jourdan with the army of the Moselle, and the weakness of the French army of the Rhine, turned his eyes not to the Sambre but to the Saar; and on the 23rd of May, by means of a skilfully planned attack in several columns, dislodged general Ambert from his strong position near Kaiserslautern, where the French sustained a considerable loss in killed, prisoners, and artillery; in consequence of which the enemy retreated by Pirmasens, Blieskastell, and Spire to Germersheim, and a portion of them to the lines on the Queich, which they had occupied in the preceding year. Content with this success, Möllendorf, either from his own impulse or in compliance with superior directions, returned his sword to the scabbard. The first advantages won by Kosciuszko, the Prussian campaign in Poland, aversion to be subordinate to the prince of Coburg or the duke of York, lastly, the daily strengthening conviction that the right time for a march to the Sambre was past—all these reasons probably concurred to keep the Prussians and the Austrian generals associated with them inactive, till the French, considerably reinforced from the interior, again advanced on the 12th of July to the attack. On that day, they were repulsed, but on the following they were more successful; and the Prussians, after losing a battle near Pfalzburg, again evacuated the oft-contested Kaiserslautern, and took a position nearer to the Rhine at Rehbach. A suspension of hostilities ensued till the middle of September.

Along the Alps, the bravery of the Piedmontese in the defence of their mountain-passes prevented the French from making any great progress: they nevertheless gained during the spring some important advantages. The army of Italy, which occupied the county of Nice, and was commanded by Dumerbion, a gallant

officer, but afflicted with the gout and mostly confined to his bed, had its heroes in Massena and Bonaparte. Its first task was to gain possession of the mountain-passes leading from the South into Piedmont, the fortress of Saorgio, and the Col di Tenda. Under the conduct of Massena, the French made themselves masters of all these points in April and May; but the want of reinforcements prevented their general from following up his successes.

The army of the Alps, considered as the left wing of that of Italy, had its winter-quarters from Gap to Chambery and Barcelonetta, and was urged, in the first months of 1794, by the Committee of Welfare, to attack the enemy. The snow, however, lay so deep, that it was the end of April before the passes of the Little St. Bernard could be taken. Mont Cenis, strongly fortified by the Piedmontese, and gallantly defended, was stormed on the 13th of May, and, on the 5th of June the French possessed themselves of the celebrated pass of the Barricades; in consequence of which the Piedmontese retreated from the strong camp of the Assiette. The invaders had thus penetrated so far, that they might soon be expected to cross the Alps, and to attack Susa; but want and disease thinned their ranks. An armistice was concluded as with the main army of Italy; and the other military operations of the French during this year, on that side, were confined to the frustration of an attempt of the enemy to recover Savona, on which occasion the battle of Cairo, or Dego, on the 21st of September, was highly creditable to both parties.

Neither was any rapid progress made by the French arms on the side of the Pyrenees. The Committee of Welfare concerned itself but little about that quarter, from which no invasion was to be apprehended.

Though not strong in number, and but scantily supplied with material, the French troops here fought bravely, and found equally valuable adversaries in the Spaniards. The army of the Western Pyrenees was commanded by the gallant Müller; under him were Moncey, Fregeville, Harispe, Laborde, and likewise Latour d'Auvergne: that of the Eastern Pyrenees was under Dugommier; and the ablest of his generals were Augereau and Perignon. On the eastern frontier, the Spaniards had taken several French fortresses, Bellegarde, Collioure, &c. The gallant Ricardos was dead, and his successor, La Union, was not a match for Dugommier, who stormed the Spanish camp at Boulou, retook Collioure in May, and Bellegarde in September, and transferred the war to the soil of Spain. The army of the Western Pyrenees was likewise successful in its operations against the Spaniards, who were at first commanded by Ventura Caro, and afterwards by the old and incompetent Calomera. Victorious during the spring in numerous actions, the French, towards the end of July, advanced under Moncey, Fregeville, and Laborde, into the valley of Bastan, stormed all the Spanish entrenchments, and, on the 4th of August, took St. Sebastian.

We have seen that, notwithstanding the dispersion of the main Vendean force on the right bank of the Loire, Stofflet and Larochejaquelin, who had escaped, still continued in arms, while Charette maintained his ground in the Marais. The latter was joined by Sapinaud. Each of these had a few thousand men about him: larger bodies of the insurgents could not now be collected; thousands had perished, and the survivors were no longer animated with the same enthusiasm and confidence as in the summer of 1793. By humane treatment and conciliatory clemency, the Convention might have gained the greater number of the intimidated and

hopeless people; but the system of barbarity was still carried on. By virtue of a decree of the Convention, twelve columns, most justly called "infernal columns," were organized to sweep the devoted country from end to end, in every direction. These were set in motion by Turreau, the most barbarous of the republican generals sent to La Vendée, in spite of the remonstrances of Kleber, and without special instructions from the Committee of Welfare. The leaders of these bands, like the men who composed them, were the scum of the Jacobin sans-culottes. The reports given of their proceedings, by officers both civil and military, are full of details that make one shudder. Conflagration, carnage, and desolation marked their course. Women, children, and aged people were indiscriminately slaughtered; no distinction was made between friend and foe; and even republican communes were exterminated with fire and sword. Here and there the Vendeans made resistance, and were still sometimes successful in sudden attacks; their force too was increased by the merciless fury of their adversaries. The insurgents sustained an irretrievable loss on the 28th of January, when their heroic and noble-minded leader, Larochejaquelin, was killed; and the consequences of this event proved extremely injurious to their cause. Feuds arose among the other chiefs in the Bocage; Marigny separated from Stofflet, and afterwards quitted the army entirely; whereupon Stofflet caused him to be shot as a deserter. The latter was also at variance with Charette; and both, being arrogant and obstinate, neglected to support one another.

The complaints transmitted by a great number of revolutionary committees of the West, concerning the destruction of patriotic citizens and communes, led to a change of system on the part of the republican rulers. The sanguinary Turreau was recalled; and, though

Vimeux, his successor, was instructed to continue to scour La Vendée with moveable columns, he was not authorized to slaughter and burn. On the contrary, an agricultural commission was appointed, and conciliatory proclamations were addressed to the Vendeans. These, however, were unheeded by their leaders, and they continued to carry on petty hostilities during the summer, and even after Canclaux had been placed, in October, at the head of the republican army, discouraged by the departure of 20,000 men for the army of the Moselle, and the destitute state of the troops left behind, without clothing, shoes, and other necessaries. The gradual diminution of the insurgent force, and the publication of the decree of amnesty issued on the 2nd of December, at length induced their chiefs to listen to terms of accommodation. Charette and Sapinaud made their peace in February, and Stofflet in May, 1795. They acknowledged the Republic, promised to obey its laws, to lay down their arms, and to deliver up their artillery and horses; the Republic guaranteed freedom of worship and protection. Charette soon afterwards paid a visit to Nantes, where he was received with extraordinary distinctions; but neither his submission nor that of his colleagues was sincere; they merely yielded to the pressure of circumstances, determined to resume their arms on some more favourable opportunity.

Amidst the ferment of political passions, the attention of the rulers of France was directed to the importance and application of two inventions by natives of that country—the air-balloon, and the telegraph. In the campaign in the Netherlands, French officers ascended, before and during battles, in balloons held by cords, and, by this new mode of reconnaissance, alarmed their adversaries, and imparted to their own troops that

feeling of superiority which has so often conferred victory. The battle of Fleurus was the first occasion on which the balloon was employed for this purpose. An institution was even founded at Meudon for training a corps of aëronauts; but as the advantages of this machine in military operations were outweighed by the difficulties attending its application, the use of it was soon abandoned. The telegraph was invented by Claude Chappe, an engineer, and in 1792, a description of it was submitted by him to the National Assembly. In the following year, the government ordered the erection of the first telegraphic line between Lille and Paris, and the first piece of intelligence communicated by it was the taking of Condé. This rapid mode of communication proved of such utility during the war, that several other lines were established in France; but, the claim of Chappe to the honour of the invention being disputed, he sunk into a deep melancholy, and, in 1805, put an end to his life by throwing himself into a well. The manifest utility of the telegraph caused its speedy adoption in England, and it has since been introduced into other countries of Europe.*

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WAR IN POLAND.

So early as 1792, when the Russians entered Warsaw, the discontent of the inhabitants was unreservedly ma-

* Some idea of the importance of this machine may be formed from the following statement. The telegraph transmits intelligence from Paris to Lille, a distance of 60 leagues, in 2 minutes; from Calais, 68 leagues, in 4 minutes 5 seconds; from Strasburg, 120 leagues, in 5 minutes 52 seconds; from Brest, 150 leagues, in 6 minutes 50 seconds; from Toulon in 13 minutes 50 seconds; and from Bayonne, in 14 minutes.

nifested, and seditious papers were found almost every morning posted up at the corners of the streets. Still stronger was this spirit after Igelström's arrival, and the new partition of Poland. The ferment excited by that catastrophe extended rapidly to all the provinces which had been left to the Republic, and even penetrated into those of which she had been despoiled. The patriots, however, proceeded with such caution that they contrived to keep their communications with their emigrant countrymen a secret from the Russian police, and to apprise them of what was occurring at home. The frequent hints on this subject received by Igelström rendered him more and more suspicious and arbitrary; arrests became more frequent; and, as they often fell upon perfectly innocent persons, they served only to increase the general exasperation.

Among the most distinguished of the emigrants who had left Poland on the entrance of the Russian troops in 1792, and who resided chiefly at Dresden and Leipzig, were Ignatius Potocki, Collontay, Malachowsky, Th. Mostovsky, and Kosciuszko. All of them were wholly devoted to the welfare of their country, and to the constitution of the 3d of May, and bent on attempting, at all hazards, to rescue Poland from Russian thraldom. They endeavoured, but in vain, to interest other powers in her fate. In spite of this unfavourable prospect, they found themselves obliged to accelerate their plans, and to comply with the solicitations transmitted from Warsaw. Kosciuszko, who had been trained in the war of American independence, fought with distinction against the Russian invaders in 1792, and refused tempting offers from the empress Catherine, was destined to the supreme command of the army.

The first who gave the signal for insurrection was Madalinski, brigadier of the national cavalry, who had

served for some time in the Gallician guard at Vienna, and returned to his country at the commencement of the revolution. Collecting his brigade, consisting of 1,800 men, in the environs of Warsaw, and joined by some small detachments of infantry, which brought artillery along with them, he attacked a Russian regiment, took its chest, and encamped on the frontier of South Prussia, between Pultusk and Plotzko. Here the junction of another Polish brigade increased his force to 3,000 men. Igelström immediately despatched a corps of Russians and Cossacks against the insurgents, who marched into South Prussia, and, pretending that they wished to enter the Prussian service, were admitted into the little town of Szrenk, where they surprised and overpowered the weak garrison, and plundered the public coffers, and even the inhabitants. At the same time, Mlawa, a neighbouring town, was entered by another body of insurgents, 2,000 strong, headed by Zborowski, captain in a regiment of light cavalry. These circumstances spread general consternation throughout the surrounding country.

The Prussian General Schwerin lost no time in sending a force against the plunderers. The leaders of the two corps, as soon as they heard of its advance, formed a junction, quitted the Prussian territory, and marched to Cracow, which was already in arms. On the 23d of March, immediately after the Russian garrison had left the city to meet the insurgents, Kosciuszko arrived there.

Having ordered the gates to be closed, he assembled the magistrates and the citizens, who solemnly swore to accept and to uphold the constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791. Kosciuszko was appointed commander-in-chief of all the Polish forces, and the troops took an oath of fidelity to him as such. His first step was to

take charge of all the public chests, and to cause an inventory to be made of the plate in the churches and in the royal palace. On the 26th of March, he instituted a tribunal of fourteen members to try persons hostile to the revolution, and those who should violate the territory or molest the subjects of the emperor. He also issued a proclamation calling upon the whole nation to join in the defence of the country, and to support the cause both by recruits and by pecuniary contributions; and ordered that every five chimneys, both in the towns and in the countries, should furnish one man completely equipped. The force at his disposal in Cracow alone was computed at 7000 men, and he had many friends and adherents throughout the whole republic, even among the troops who were still in the service.

Russia and Prussia soon perceived the necessity of adopting vigorous measures. In Warsaw there were already upwards of 15,000 Russian troops, who were mostly quartered near the king's palace, where they were ordered to mount guard instead of the Polish soldiers. At the instigation of Igelström, Madalinski and Zborowski were proclaimed traitors; a Diet was convoked to try them: and a strong Russian corps was despatched to Cracow to attack the insurgents. On the approach of this corps, Kosciuszko marched to meet it with 4000 combatants, wholly destitute of cannon and partly armed with lances and scythes. With these citizens and peasants, the republican general attacked the Russians, 6000 strong, abundantly provided with artillery, and totally defeated them at Raclawice, after an obstinate engagement of five hours, taking twelve pieces of cannon and many prisoners. This exploit served to spread the flame of insurrection, and all the free men in Poland were soon in arms. In spite of a proclamation issued by the king, declaring

the insurgents rebels and traitors, several Polish regiments revolted and marched to join them. Kosciuszko's army was thus increased to 9000 men, with whom he would have marched at once to Warsaw, had he not been prevented by want of ammunition and provisions. Meanwhile, two Prussian corps were advancing upon Warsaw and Cracow.

The news of Kosciuszko's proceedings and success produced unbounded joy and enthusiasm in the Polish capital; and, aware of the disposition of the inhabitants, Igelström sought to crush it by measures of aggravated severity and oppression. Fearful of an explosion, he sent, on the 16th of April, to the permanent council a list of twenty of the most distinguished persons, with an order that they should be apprehended. The council executed this order, after making through prince Sulkowsky an humble remonstrance to Igelström. Indignant at the harsh language and threats of the latter, the prince returned to the council-room in great agitation, but no sooner had he entered it than he was seized with apoplexy, of which he died soon afterwards.

For further security, the Russian commander resolved to disarm the Polish troops in garrison at Warsaw on the 18th of April, when, as it was a religious festival, the people would be in church, and he expected to meet with less resistance. He gave orders that during divine service all the churches should be strictly guarded, that the barracks, arsenal, and powder-magazine, should be occupied by Russian troops, and that the Poles should then be disarmed with all possible despatch. The infantry regiments of the crown had secret directions to join the Russians, and to cut in pieces all the Poles who resisted; and the Cossacks were commanded, in case of insurrection, to set fire to the city in different parts, in order to divert the attention of the inhabitants, and to

facilitate the abduction of the king amidst the general confusion. These orders were no sooner issued than betrayed. The leaders of the insurrection met, and resolved to anticipate Igelström by commencing operations on the following morning. As there was no time to form a digested plan, the only point agreed upon was to be beforehand with the Russians in securing the arsenal and the means of arming the people: and this was to be the signal for a general rising. Patriotism and despair gave the impulse, and chance favoured one of the boldest enterprises recorded in history.

In the evening of the 16th, 50,000 ball-cartridges were privately distributed from hand to hand in all the quarters of the city. By midnight, all the approaches to it were occupied by the Poles, and crowds thronged to the palace, insisting on speaking to the king. Igelström ordered them to disperse, but to no purpose. The order was repeated, and the mob fell upon those who brought it, and killed some of them. This was the signal. The people ran through the streets, shouting, "To arms!" the drums beat, the alarm-bells rang, and the whole city was in as great an uproar as if it had been attacked by an enemy's army.

At four in the morning of the 17th, the horse-guards left their barracks, attacked the Russian post behind the garden of the electoral palace, drove it back, took one piece of cannon, and proceeded to the place before the palace. About six, Igelström sent to apprise the king of the danger. Stanislaus, who was with his guards in the courtyard of the palace, sent word back that he was already acquainted with all the circumstances; he therefore begged the general to retire with his troops from the city, to prevent bloodshed, till the enraged people were appeased; and he mentioned the streets by which the Russians might yet withdraw un-

molested. Confident in his strength, Igelström disdained this advice, and sent a detachment under general Bauer to take possession of the arsenal; but the furious populace had broken into it, supplied themselves with all sorts of arms and ammunition, and carried off 213 pieces of cannon. Bauer attempted to disperse them; a sanguinary conflict ensued, and the Russians, though they fought with desperate courage, were surrounded and made prisoners. During the fight, some of the insurgents ran off to the king, crying that the Russians were attacking the arsenal, and calling upon him to put himself at the head of the troops. Stanislaus replied, "Go and save your honour;" on which this troop hurried away with one piece of cannon for Igelström's residence. The king meanwhile sent two Polish generals to the ambassador, inviting him to come under their protection to the palace, but he would not quit his troops, and thus saved his life; for his nephew, whom he sent to the king in his stead, was cut down in the street between his two conductors.

The news of the successful issue of the fight at the arsenal being circulated through the city, the tumult became general. All the Polish troops in Warsaw joined the insurgents, who now formed a mass of 30,000 men. The Russians were attacked wherever they appeared, and put to death without mercy. The conflict was most furious about Igelström's palace, where the Russians defended themselves for thirty-six hours, escaping at last by breaking a way into other streets through buildings in the rear, and finally battering a breach in the city-wall. Eight hundred Russians were surrounded by Polish troops, and partly killed, partly made prisoners. Similar scenes took place in various parts of the city, especially at the electoral palace, which was almost entirely demolished by the

cannon. Retreating to several large edifices, the Russians barricaded and defended themselves there as in a fortress, for eighteen hours. One of these buildings was at length set on fire in several places by the granadoes of the assailants. The besieged exhibited the white flag in token of surrender; the doors were opened, and they were about to be marched off as prisoners, when some shots, probably fired improvidently by the Poles themselves, caused a cry to be raised that they proceeded from the Russians. The incensed populace, inflamed with fresh rage, not only put to death all the Russians who were found in that building, but set fire to four others and a church, filled with Russians. In the suburb of Praga, situated on the other side of the Vistula, the Russians were attacked with the like fury, and mostly slaughtered; and upwards of sixty, taken prisoners there, were cut in pieces on their way to the city. It was not till six in the evening of the 19th that the firing of artillery and small arms, kept up from six in the morning of the 17th, gradually ceased, and the horrible tumult subsided.

The rage of the people was not yet appeased. They searched the houses, and wherever a Russian was found, whether a soldier or not, he was despatched without mercy. Others of the populace, more eager after plunder than blood, rifled and destroyed the houses of the most distinguished of the Russians; and those of several eminent Poles in the Russian interest shared the like fate. Igelström himself escaped with 1200 men, most of whom were wounded more or less severely, and reached the Prussian camp at Sacroczin, destitute of the most absolute necessaries. At the commencement of the disturbance, general Nowicky, seeing that resistance was useless, had retired from Warsaw with a battalion of 2000 men, 16 pieces of cannon, and the

heavy baggage of the Russian troops, and posted himself at Magnaszec. The rest were either killed or prisoners. The number of the slain was stated at 2265, of the wounded at 122, and that of the prisoners at 2000; while the Poles admitted their own loss to amount to 209 killed and 147 wounded. When the news of this disaster reached Petersburg, Igelström was dismissed from his employments, and succeeded by prince Repnin in the command of the Russian troops in Poland.

After the expulsion of the Russians from Warsaw, Kosciuszko's act of confederation was subscribed by the city authorities, and that general was proclaimed commander-in-chief of the whole military force of the Republic. Such was his power that he appointed and dissolved municipalities and councils at his pleasure, and no public business could be transacted without his sanction. He ordered the provisional council to be dissolved, and a supreme national council, composed of eight members, each having four assistants, to be formed in its stead. The exhausted state of the public exchequer led to various oppressive measures, which excited great dissatisfaction with the new order of things. Thus the provisional council directed that all who had held civil appointments of any kind conferred by the last Diet, or received gratuities from any public fund, should repay the amount of their salaries and of such gratuities into the coffers of the State. By another ordinance, all taxes were required to be paid for three years in advance, and even mechanics had to contribute part of their earnings to the supply of the public necessities. Horses and other things available for war were forcibly seized. The buying-up of cattle or other necessaries of life within twenty miles of Warsaw was prohibited, as was also the export of corn, ammunition,

leather, and many other articles. Arrests and executions became frequent; and, by the end of May, the number of Poles imprisoned in Warsaw, among whom were persons of high distinction, amounted to 151.

The forces of the confederates, augmented by regiments which the Russians had raised in the provinces occupied by them, amounted to nearly 70,000 men; but a great proportion of these consisted of peasants imperfectly armed. The principal corps, 23,000 strong, under the command of Kosciuszko himself, was stationed in the palatinate of Sendomir. The Prussian army, which had entered Poland in four columns, exceeding 50,000 men, awaited the arrival of the king at Wola, where it was joined by the Russian general Denisoff with his corps, which Kosciuszko had been striving to enclose and cut off. Having received some reinforcements, the Polish leader approached the Prussians. On the 5th of June a battle ensued near Scelze, in which the Poles were routed, with the loss of 1000 killed and 200 prisoners.

This check was speedily followed by the surrender of Cracow at the first summons to the Prussian general Elsner. The great object of the Polish leader was now to cover Warsaw, upon which the Prussians kept steadily advancing. By extraordinary exertions, he had increased his army to 40,000 men, but of that number not more than 18,000 were regular troops. With these he directed his course towards Warsaw, while the Prussians closely followed his steps. At the same time, a Russian corps, under general Derfelden, was approaching from Lublin, which he had taken, with the intention of crossing the Vistula at Pulawi, and co-operating with the Prussians in the siege of Warsaw; while a second, entering Lithuania, met with so little resistance that it was proceeding by hasty marches towards the same point.

The people of that capital, thus seriously threatened, joined with zeal in labouring at the works thrown up for its defence. Whole corps, and among them a corps of women of all classes, marched daily with drums, fifes, and other music, to assist in these operations; and, as the inhabitants alone could never have finished the works, owing to the great extent of the city, the neighbouring proprietors of estates sent several thousand hands to accelerate their completion. Nothing was to be seen and heard, but military sights and sounds. New recruits were incessantly arriving in the capital, and, after being trained there, sent off to the armies, together with all the cannon, ammunition, and provisions that could be collected.

The surrender of Cracow and the checks sustained by the Polish arms made a deep impression in Warsaw; and the populace, as in such cases they are everywhere accustomed to do, attributed them to treachery. One evening, when returning from their labour at the fortifications and from drill, a demagogue harangued them on the tardiness of the judges in bringing to trial the prisoners confined as tools of Russia. It required no great art to excite in this mob a distrust of the integrity of their magistrates and judges. They vowed not to separate till the traitors were punished. The bells were rung, the drums beat, and, amidst tremendous uproar, the people erected gibbets in several places. They broke open the prisons, dragged forth eight persons of distinction, among whom were Massalsky, bishop of Wilna, and prince Anthony Czetwertinsky, and hung them without ceremony. When Kosciuszko heard of this outrage, he exclaimed, "Rather would I have lost two battles than that such enormities should have been committed: they must do much more injury to our good and just cause than the greatest losses in the field."

He not only issued a most energetic proclamation on the subject from his camp at Golkow, but ordered the ringleaders to be searched for, apprehended, and tried. Seven of them were hanged; the man who was the immediate instigator of the riot was burned, and 1500 of those concerned in it were sent off to the army, with orders that they should be employed in the duty of the advanced posts.

As the last hope of the Poles was founded on the possession of Warsaw, and the loss of that city must decide the fate of the insurgents, they exerted themselves to the utmost for its defence and preservation. Kosciuszko, with his army of 40,000 men, occupied a strongly entrenched camp in a very advantageous position, which he purposed to maintain. It secured the communication between Warsaw and the suburb of Praga on the opposite side of the Vistula, so that through this channel the city could procure supplies of provisions, and he could himself be furnished with necessaries for his troops.

On the 26th of July, the Prussian army encamped at the village of Wola, and immediately began to throw up entrenchments and batteries. On the right wing was the Russian corps of general Fersen. The city was summoned on the 2nd of August, and at the same time the king of Prussia wrote to Stanislaus, exhorting him to use his influence to avert calamities which must otherwise be inevitable. The reply both of the king and the commandant of the city was that the decision rested with the generalissimo. A violent bombardment was immediately commenced against the entrenchment of the Poles, and as briskly returned by the latter. The whole month of August was spent in attempts of the besiegers to drive the enemy from his camp into the city; the Poles lost one redoubt after another, and the

Prussians approached nearer and nearer to Warsaw. On the 25th, they stormed the camp at Powonsk, occupied by a corps of the main Polish army under prince Joseph Poniatowsky, who was obliged to fall back upon the city, with the loss of seven redoubts, ten pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners. On the 30th, the Poles were again unsuccessful in an attack on the Prussian left wing, in which they were repulsed with the loss of 1000 killed.

Meanwhile, the increasing scarcity of provisions and other necessaries began to produce general discontent and despair among the people of Warsaw, who cried out that they were betrayed by their leaders, on whom they would have taken summary vengeance. It was only by the energetic interference of Kosciuszko that prince Poniatowsky was saved from the gallows, to which he had been doomed by the populace. Disease aggravated the condition of the insurgents, who expected from day to day that the Prussians would begin to bombard the city.

The attention of the latter, however, was now diverted to another quarter. In the provinces recently added to the Prussian dominions had long prevailed great discontent, which, fomented by the patriots and the clergy, broke out into open rebellion. In the night of the 22nd of August, the small party of Prussian troops at Gnesen were overpowered and made prisoners, the arms of Prussia pulled down, and the royal coffers plundered. The insurgents vowed fidelity to the constitution of 1791 and obedience to Kosciuszko. To second this insurrection, the Polish chieftain despatched general Madalinsky from the camp before Warsaw, with four battalions of infantry and 1500 cavalry. Purposing to cross the Narew, between the Vistula and the Bug, this officer attacked the Prussian cordon formed to cover

South Prussia, but was repulsed with the loss of 700 men and the greatest part of his artillery; and the rest of his corps, almost entirely dispersed, was driven into the woods. Notwithstanding this disaster, the insurrection continued to spread through the neighbouring provinces; other towns imitated the example of Gnesen; detached parties made incursions into West Prussia and Silesia; and in the interior of South Prussia almost all the inhabitants renounced the new foreign yoke imposed upon them, and subscribed a formal act of confederation. Thus, in spite of the civil authorities and of the troops, the insurrection soon became general in those provinces. So threatening was the aspect of affairs there, that the king of Prussia, whose army was at the same time surrounded on all sides and harassed by the enemy, and who was influenced moreover by the loss of eleven vessels coming up the Vistula from Graudenz with ammunition, which were taken by the insurgents, resolved to raise the siege of Warsaw, and to repair in person to crush the rebellion in his new dominions.

A Russian corps, under generals Knorring and Subow, was meanwhile advancing through Lithuania. After dispersing the corps of Grabowsky, 4000 strong, and defeating on the 12th of August with great slaughter the Lithuanian army under general Chlewinsky, they took Wilna, and, leaving a garrison there, marched for Grodno.

During these transactions, the court of Vienna was persuaded by the representations of Lucchesini, who had been sent in all haste to Vienna for that purpose, to take a more active part in quelling the disturbances in Poland. Two columns of Austrian troops, amounting to 17,000 men, entered the country by Lublin and Brody; this army, reinforced to 30,000, was to occupy

the palatinates of Cracow, Sendomir, Lublin, and Chelm.

The joy of the Poles at the retreat of the Prussians was of short duration. Catherine, deeply interested in crushing the revolution, ordered Suwaroff to march with a fresh army of 40,000 men, and to reduce that city at any cost. He entered Volhynia in the beginning of September, he reached Brzesc on the 17th, and attacked a Polish corps of 15000 men, collected by general Sierakowsky to obstruct his advance. The Poles made a determined resistance, and, after a bloody fight of some hours, retired across the Bug. Next morning the Russians followed, renewed the engagement, and defeated their adversaries with great slaughter: 6000 Poles perished on the field, and they lost the whole of their artillery, consisting of thirty pieces. Sierakowsky retreated with the relics of his corps to Constantinow.

After this victory, Suwaroff resolved to march direct to Warsaw, and to attack Kosciuszko. That general, at the head of a corps of 20,000 men, crossed the Vistula to meet the advancing Russians and to prevent their progress to the capital. Meanwhile, the Russian force under prince Repnin had reached Grodno, taken that city, and formed a junction with Suwaroff, whose army was now 60,000 strong. The rest of the Russian troops in Poland were under the command of generals Derfelden and Fersen, the latter of whom, on separating from the Prussians, when the siege of Warsaw was raised, crossed the Vistula and fell back, either for the purpose of uniting with the army of Suwaroff, or to cover the Russian frontiers from the roving hordes of the insurgents.

Kosciuszko, while hastening to meet the redoubtable Suwaroff, encountered Fersen's corps on the 10th of

October at Macziejowicze, between fifty and sixty miles from the capital. He had sent orders to Poninski to join him with the troops under his command, but the Russians, intercepting his messenger, foiled his plans. A most sanguinary engagement ensued. "Warsaw and revenge!" was the cry of the Russians; "Victory or death!" the answer of the Poles. Thrice had the latter repulsed their infuriated assailants, when Suwaroff appeared with a fresh army. Vain were the efforts of Kosciuszko, with his imperfectly armed and disciplined troops, against so overwhelming a superiority of tried soldiers. The infantry gave way. Undistinguished by his dress, the general was in the thickest of the danger. Three horses had been shot under him, when a wound on the shoulder extended him on the ground. Speedily recovering, he mounted a fresh horse, and hastened to rally his fleeing cavalry. In leaping a ditch, the animal fell. Cossacks and carabineers were upon him; one wounded him in the head, another in the neck. Completely exhausted, he swooned, prophetically exclaiming, "*Finis Poloniæ!*"—the end of Poland! Six thousand Poles covered the field of battle; three generals, besides the commander-in-chief and 3000 men, together with the camp, baggage, and artillery, fell into the hands of the victors. The Polish hero was sent under an escort of 3000 men to Petersburg, where he languished in close confinement till the death of the vindictive Catherine, when her son and successor restored him to liberty, with 12000 other Poles immured in Russian prisons.

The news of this disaster filled Warsaw with consternation. All the inhabitants who had anything to lose desired that the city might be spared by a capitulation the horrors of another siege; but these were themselves divided into two parties, one of which, dreading the vengeance of the Russians, proposed that

the city should surrender to the Prussians, while the other, with the king at their head, were for capitulating to the former. The people, constituting a third party, indignantly rejected all compromise, and insisted on defending the capital to the last extremity. Several persons of distinction, who had been apprehended, were murdered: the houses of the leaders of the insurrection were beset, and they were themselves threatened with the most cruel death unless they adopted measures of resistance. The supreme council knew not how to act: at length, in compliance with the requisition of the people, it issued a proclamation, promising to be faithful to the revolution; and again the cry of all parties was, "Victory or death!"

The Russians were meanwhile rapidly approaching. A Polish corps, which they met with on their march at the river Bug on the 29th of October, was attacked and routed with the loss of 3000 killed, 800 prisoners and six pieces of cannon, and the fugitives were pursued to the environs of the capital. Suwaroff, joined by a Prussian corps, encompassed Warsaw on several sides; and, on the morning of the 4th of November, 20,000 Russians were led by himself, Fersen, and Derfelden to storm Praga. It was defended by 26,000 men and 100 pieces of cannon; but such was the impetuosity of the assailing torrent that resistance was unavailing. The fugitives were borne back to the Vistula, and the bridge was broken down by the multitude. It was computed that 13,000 of the defenders of Praga perished in the assault, above 14,000 were taken prisoners; while nearly the whole of the 4000 who endeavoured to escape across the bridge were either drowned or killed by the fire of the Russians.

Nothing could now be hoped from further resistance: a deputation was therefore sent from Warsaw to Su-

waroff with offers of capitulation. The conqueror promised security of life and property, on condition that arms of all sorts should be delivered up to the Russians. The military objected to the surrender of their arms, and many thousands left the city with Wawrzewsky, who had been appointed to succeed Kosciuszko as commander-in-chief. In a few days, however, 6000 of the Polish troops surrendered to a Prussian corps which had crossed the Vistula, and the corps of prince Poniatowsky also capitulated.

On the 9th of November, the Russian general, having repaired the bridge over the Vistula, made his triumphal entry into Warsaw, during which the inhabitants were required to shut themselves up in their houses. The government and constitution were replaced on the same footing as before the insurrection, and the permanent council re-established; but the Russian general reserved to himself the superintendence over all public affairs. These arrangements, however, were but temporary, till the fate of Poland should be finally decided by the cabinets of Berlin and Petersburg.

The successes of the Russians facilitated the total suppression of the insurrection in the Prussian provinces bordering on Poland, in spite of the gallant efforts of the Polish generals and troops who had been sent thither to assist the insurgents. The corps with which Wawrzewsky had left Warsaw, after the capitulation of the city, was soon dispersed; he himself, with the generals and other distinguished persons who had accompanied him, fell into the hands of the Prussians; and, before the end of November, 12,000 Polish troops had surrendered to them. Austrian and Prussian corps entered the palatinate of Sendomir. The latter had orders to advance to the Vistula, and the Russians re-

tired across that river at their approach. On the other hand, Lithuania and Samogitia were required to take the oath of allegiance to the empress Catherine, and prince Repnin was appointed governor-general of those provinces.

These proceedings indicated but too plainly a determination to erase the name of Poland from the list of independent States. After some months spent in negociations between Prussia, Russia, and Austria, a treaty for the division of the remainder of that unfortunate country was concluded at Petersburg on the 25th of October, 1795. The Russian acquisitions, exceeding 45,000 square miles with 1,200,000 inhabitants, comprehended Courland, Samogitia, Lithuania beyond the Niemen, Volhynia, and that part of the waywodships of Chelm and Brzesc beyond the Bug. Austria obtained 17,700 square miles, with one million inhabitants, consisting of the greater part of the waywodship of Cracow, the whole of Panionitz and Lublin, and the remainder of Chelm and Brzesc. The share of Prussia included a small portion of Samogitia, the part of Lithuania on this side of the Niemen, the waywodship of Podlachia, Masuria, Warsaw, the remainder of Plotzk and Rawa, and some part of Cracow, containing upwards of 22,000 square miles and a million of inhabitants.

The unfortunate Stanislaus was obliged by the empress of Russia to renounce for ever, in a formal document, the uneasy crown of Poland on the 26th of November, the thirtieth anniversary of his coronation. Catherine assigned to him a yearly pension of 200,000 ducats, and he was required to reside in Petersburg, where he died in 1798. Russia paid the debts of the king, amounting to twenty million guilders; those of the Republic, half that sum, were discharged by Prussia.

CHAPTER XL.

CONQUEST OF THE UNITED PROVINCES BY THE FRENCH—PEACE WITH PRUSSIA AND SPAIN.

While France was rent by internal dissensions and commotions, success continued to attend her arms and her foreign policy. The violent measures of her rulers had augmented her military resources to a degree that excited universal astonishment; and the influence of terror and enthusiasm imparted an energy which was wanting in the operations of her adversaries. Hence the new system of warfare with vast masses, forced upon the generals by unprofessional men, in opposition to the scientific combinations of the allies, who adhered to the old routine; the relinquishment of uniform clothing, of regular pay and subsistence, of tents and magazines, which imposed upon towns and provinces occupied by troops the necessity of supplying their wants, but at the same time afforded facility for more rapid marches and more extensive movements. As these innovations appeared to the allies to be neither excellent in themselves nor likely to be lasting, they hesitated to adopt them, and thus abandoned to the enemy the advantages of the moment — advantages which often prove decisive for ever.

After the battle of Fleurus had occasioned the retreat of the allied army from Belgium and the separation of the English force from the Austrians, the French paused to recover the fortresses of Landrecies, Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé. In this object they succeeded with a rapidity beyond expectation by means of an expedient of terrorism, the Committee of Welfare

having obtained a decree contrary to the law of nations enacting that those commandants who should not surrender within twenty-four hours after being summoned should be cut in pieces with their garrisons. In the autumn campaign which followed, Jourdan, with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, drove the Austrians beyond the Roer, and, after a battle fought on the 2nd of October in the vicinity of Juliers, to the Rhine, and finally across that river. Juliers and Cologne delivered their keys to the conqueror, and the other towns on the left bank of the Rhine followed the example. The tricoloured flag soon waved in Coblentz, instead of the white one.

The prince of Coburg had in vain issued an impressive proclamation, calling upon the people of Germany to support the armies of their emperor, and to unite their efforts for the defence of the country. This abortive summons was the last act of the prince as generalissimo; on the 28th of August, he retired from a theatre, where he had lost the reputation which he had won in the war with the Turks. Clairfait, hitherto alike distinguished for valour and misfortune, succeeded him in the command.

An attempt of the Prussians, after the expiration of the armistice already mentioned, directed from the Middle Rhine against one wing of the French army, led to a battle on the 20th of September near Kaiserslautern; but the victory there won by the prince of Hohenlohe was of no permanent benefit: by the 23rd of October, they too were driven back beyond the Rhine, and after the fall of Rheinfels, a few days afterwards, only three points on the whole left bank of the river remained in the hands of the Germans—Luxemburg, Mentz, and the tête-du-pont near Manheim. In consequence of the fall of Treves, the first was completely

cut off and closely invested; Mentz was already threatened on one side, and the tête-du-pont was taken before the end of the year.

Pichegru, with the army of the North, made still more rapid progress against the combined English and Dutch army, commanded by the duke of York and the hereditary prince of Orange. It retreated, sustaining incessant losses, across the Meuse; Nymwegen was evacuated, and Herzogenbusch and Maestricht, fortresses well provisioned and deemed impregnable, surrendered after short sieges scarcely worthy of mention. At length, the allies imagined that they might establish their wished-for winter-quarters on the strongly entrenched banks of the Meuse and Waal; but their hopes were cruelly disappointed. By command of the Committee of Welfare, which was acquainted with the party-spirit prevalent in Holland and could appreciate the situation of the house of Orange, Pichegru undertook a winter campaign. His troops, mostly in rags and without shoes, were urged on by their wretched plight to the conquest of a wealthy country. After the operations of the allies thus far, success might confidently be anticipated.

If was nevertheless expected that some resistance or impediment would be experienced from the numerous rivers, large and small, which Nature has opposed to the conqueror of Holland, and the sluices by which art has increased the difficulty: but the sudden setting in of the severest winter in the century rendered this barrier wholly ineffective. By the 23rd of December, the Rhine and the other rivers were so completely frozen as to form bridges strong enough to bear whole armies with their trains of artillery. Of the latter the advancing French had scarcely any need; for there was little fighting. The English and Hanoverians under

Wallmoden, who assumed the command on the return of the duke of York to England, retired beyond the Yssel to Westphalia; and the Dutch army dispersed or joined the invaders. On the 17th of January, 1795, the Stadtholder embarked with his family and his court for England, and on the 19th the French made their entry into Amsterdam amidst the rejoicings of the anti-Orange party.

The deputies of the Convention accompanying the army immediately proclaimed the liberty and independence of the Batavian people, who might now change or amend their constitution at their own pleasure. "We come not to impose a yoke upon you; we bring not fear, but confidence. A few years ago, a proud conqueror prescribed laws to you. We give you back your liberty." At any rate, they knew better than the Prussians how to obtain payment for what they brought. Those "proud conquerors," content with the triumph of their party, had renounced all advantages for themselves, and even generously borne the expenses of the war. The restorers of Batavian freedom, on the contrary, considered it as a matter of course that their troops should be clothed and subsisted; and, in a treaty concluded on the 16th of May by Sieyes and Rewbel, they granted peace and friendship only on conditions which placed the Republic completely under French tutelage. According to this treaty, Holland was to pay to the Republic 100 million guilders, to cede to it Dutch Flanders, Maestricht, and Venloo; the Scheld was to be thrown open, and the port of Flushing common to both nations. The United Provinces were declared an independent State, but were required to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with France, particularly against England, and engaged to furnish for that purpose 12 ships of the line, 18 frigates, and half the land

force. A French army of 25,000 men was to remain in Holland, and to be subsisted and clothed by the Dutch. Among the booty to be ceded to the conquerors were specified a number of valuable objects belonging to the collection of the stadtholder. Thus Holland became in fact a French province, and, by the name of a sister republic, was obliged to make sacrifices and efforts which, upon the old system, would have been deemed impossible.

Prussia, influenced by the ill success which had thus far attended the arms of the allies, by the failure of resources for prosecuting the war, and no doubt by her ambitious plans against Poland, had, towards the close of 1794, entered into secret negotiations with France, which terminated in a treaty, concluded on the 5th of April at Basle, by Baron Hardenberg with Barthelemy, the French ambassador in Switzerland. The left bank of the Rhine was ceded provisionally to France till a general peace; a secret article stipulated its absolute cession on that event, when Prussia was to be indemnified. On the 17th of May, a supplementary treaty placed the whole north of Germany, within a line of demarcation extending from the Lower Rhine to the frontiers of Silesia, in a state of peace, on condition that the States comprehended by it should, within three months, join Prussia, and recall their contingents from the imperial army. All but Saxony availed themselves of this condition; the Hanoverians themselves accepted the proffered peace, which Hesse Cassel made more secure by a separate treaty. On the other hand, the emperor and the southern States, which adhered to his standard, naturally regarded this peace as a desertion of the common cause of Germany; and even friends of Prussia have severely censured it as the

prelude to events that led, eleven years afterwards, to the dissolution of the Empire.

A prince of the house of Austria, the grand-duke of Tuscany, likewise offered France the hand of peace. He had acknowledged the Republic so early as the year 1792, but been compelled by circumstances, particularly by the influence of England, to join the coalition. The treaty was concluded on the 9th of February, 1795, on the basis of neutrality, and the recognition of the Republic.

The hostile attitude of the court of Sardinia towards the Republic continued unchanged: and, supported by Austrians and Neapolitans, the brave Piedmontese gained, in the summer of 1795, considerable advantages. The French army, commanded by Kellermann, was posted along the Maritime Alps, from Vado, on the coast, to the Col di Tenda, the left wing extending to Argentiere. Its number was diminished by 10,000 men; while the army of the enemy was composed of 25,000 Piedmontese, and 50,000 Austrians and Neapolitans. The attack of the French commenced on the 22d of June; after five days' fighting for the forts on the southern declivity of the mountains bounding the valley of the Tanaro, the redoubt of Melogno was carried by the allies, and the French were in consequence obliged to retreat to Borghetto. Their position was now most unfavourable; the army being in a state of entire destitution, and the men discontented. In this state they were joined by the army of the West Pyrenees under Scherer, who assumed the chief command, instead of Kellermann. The battle of Loano, on the 23d and 24th of November, terminating in a most disastrous defeat of the allies, gave the French a free communication with Genoa, good winter-quarters, and a position from

which a new campaign could be undertaken with advantage.

Ever since the events at Toulon, a disagreement had taken place between Spain and England: on the part of the former, the war was prosecuted without particular effort, though the soldiers fought bravely. A few days after the fall of Bellegarde, on the 24th of September, a secret overture for negotiations reached Dugommier, but it led to no result, and a series of sanguinary engagements succeeded.

At the Eastern Pyrenees the Spaniards had a chain of forts to cover the fortresses of Rosas and Figueras and the Cerdagne; a line of eight or nine leagues from St. Lorenzo to the sea was defended by 77 bulwarks, and 50,000 men. These works were attacked by Dugommier, on the 17th of November, when Augereau particularly distinguished himself by his impetuous valour. The conflict was renewed on the 18th; Dugommier and the Count La Union, the Spanish general, fell during the fight. On the 19th the French rested, and on the following day the whole of the works were stormed. The Spaniards retreated with the loss of 10,000 men to Gerona; Figueras capitulated in the first panic, on the 27th of November, but Rosas held out till the beginning of February, 1796.

On the retirement of Müller from the army of the West Pyrenees, he was succeeded in the command by Moncey, who began to advance in November, 1794; but the total neglect of the army, the frightful excesses of the soldiers, the terrorism of the deputies of the Convention, and diseases, prevented further progress.

In 1795, several months elapsed without any fighting, either in the East or West Pyrenees. In February, the Committee of Welfare opened negociations; and in the beginning of March, Bourgoing, who had been

ambassador from France at the court of Madrid, repaired to Figueras. In consequence of his overtures, which were supported by Tallien, Yriarte was sent in May as Spanish envoy to Basle, and at the same time negociations were carried on at the Pyrenees. Spain insisted, as a point of honour, on the release of the children of Louis XVI.; and, precisely in this case, French policy refused to make any concessions. Meanwhile, on the 8th of June, 1795, the unfortunate son of the late king died in consequence of the inhuman treatment of the savage Simon; this event removed the principal difficulty, and the Committee of Welfare expressed its willingness to release the daughter of Louis XVI., in exchange for the deputies of the National Convention, detained prisoners by Austria.

Scherer, who had meanwhile been appointed to the command of the army of the East Pyrenees, sustained loss in an action with the Spaniards, on the 14th of June, but on the 13th of July defeated the enemy entrenched on the Fluvia. About the same time, Moncey, pushing on for Pampelona, won a victory on the 6th of July at Ormeia, and on the 17th entered Bilboa. A few days afterwards, on the 22nd, peace was signed at Basle. Spain ceded her portion of St. Domingo to France, which accepted her mediation for Portugal, Naples, and Parma. It was agreed that it should be left for Austria to treat further with the Republic for the exchange of the daughter of Louis XVI. In Godoy, who concluded this treaty on behalf of Spain, and was therefore honoured with the title of the Prince of the Peace, France gained a willing political second in the transactions of the next ten years. The French army of the West broke up for La Vendée and Bretagne, that of the East for Nice.

CHAPTER XLI.

STRUGGLES AGAINST THE TERRORISTS AND ROYALISTS.

To the brilliant successes of the French armies, and the formidable attitude of the Republic in regard to foreign enemies, the confusion prevailing in the interior, and the paltry party squabbles in the Convention, formed a most glaring contrast. After the fall of Robespierre, the bloodthirsty Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrère, who had risen against their former associates, merely on account of the danger which threatened their own persons, were desirous of retaining the reins, and pursuing the same course as before; but, by the language which they had held on the 8th and 9th of Thermidor, they had themselves dispelled the illusion of Terrorism, and restored its voice to public opinion, which had been so long suppressed. All, including the armies, had declared themselves in numerous addresses so loudly against the reign of blood, and the Jacobin club, on which it was really founded, had, by quarrelling with some of its leaders, and by the execution of the others, especially of the whole municipality, sustained such a shock, that the Cordeliers or Dantonists could venture to come forward again as the partisans of moderation. Thus the Mountain was split into two divisions, the right and the left, the former of which, supported by the prevailing opinion, became at once decidedly the stronger. The wealthy class of the Parisians was in its favour; and Freron, the deputy, had the address to embody a number of young citizens of this class into a battalion of the national guard, which served it for a sort of body-guard; while its opponents

were gradually deserted by the rabble of the faubourgs, when they were no longer able to pay them.

The struggle of moderation with the champions of terrorism, Robespierre's tail as they were called, often appeared extremely doubtful, and several times led to scenes of absolute lawlessness, till at length it terminated in favour of those whose cause must be regarded as the better of the two. These advocates of moderation and humanity had, it is true, steeped their hands in blood and crime; they too were solely actuated by party-spirit and interested motives, by the ambition to govern the State; and none but good-natured fools could imagine that old Jacobins, like Tallien, Legendre, Merlin of Thionville, Barras, Freron, and others, cared about justice, liberty, the happiness of the people, or the general welfare of mankind. The persons just named became, nevertheless, by their hostility to the terrorists, and the victory which they gained over those wretches, if not the restorers, at least the secondary cause of a more humane, or at any rate a less barbarous policy.

In the first tumult of joy at the fall of the common enemy, the unlimited authority of the Committees of Welfare and Safety was abridged, and the sanguinary law of the 22d of Prairial repealed. The prisons were cleared; the guillotine stood still for days together, and some of the most flagitious only were brought to trial. A vacillation ensued; and, on the 21st of September, at the festival of the sans-culottides, the decree which awarded to Marat the honour of the Pantheon was carried into execution, and the remains of that monster were conveyed, in a solemn procession of the Convention and of the authorities, to that temple of French glory. On this occasion, Collot adduced the slight affection of Robespierre for Marat as a proof of the baseness of the

former; and the Jacobin club, which the Convention had permitted to be re-opened, began to rear its head again. This rally was but momentary. The ancient strength of the club was gone; and Freron's youths undertook to disperse it by maltreating its members, the women in particular, who were indecently scourged, and by furious attacks on the hall in which they met. It was closed in consequence on the 12th of November, and two days afterwards a formal law made an essential alteration in the whole constitution of the club. Thus a society, which had rendered itself formidable to the throne, because its occupant and his servants, unacquainted with the true form of things, and therefore easily scared with phantoms, had made no use of the power which they possessed, came to a contemptible end, when leaders of the State, who formerly had seats in it, found it to their advantage to crush it. Well had it been, could they as easily have crushed the spirit of Jacobinism, which had been generated in this its visible focus; that, unfortunately, still continued to pervade all parties, and had taken such deep root in the character of the people, that the quiet development of true civil liberty was for a long time rendered impossible.

Meanwhile, the professors of moderate principles daily gained ground. The committees came into their hands, and, to secure their preponderance in the assembly, they re-admitted, on the 8th of December, the 71 deputies who had been excluded from the Convention on account of their protest against the 31st of May. It was Robespierre who had saved their lives. A few months afterwards, on the 8th of March 1795, all the surviving Girondists were recalled. On the 21st, freedom of religious worship was restored. The scandalous idolatry paid to Marat ceased soon after the grand festival held in his honour. He was now branded as a

preacher of tyranny; the statues and monuments erected to him were overthrown, and his body, removed from the Pantheon, was flung into a sewer, in order to give effect to a former decree, which forbade reception into the Pantheon till the expiration of a certain number of years. What could scarcely have been expected, considering the large share which all had taken, either by deed, by silence, or by approval, in the enormities committed, some of the principal criminals at least were sacrificed to the public indignation. Carrier forfeited his life for his atrocious barbarities on the banks of the Loire, unveiled far beyond the anticipations of his accusers during an investigation of three months and a half, instituted for the purpose of saving him. The like fate overtook Lebon, the scourge of Arras, who was sent before the revolutionary tribunal of the place where, at his command, blood had flowed in streams; and also Fouquier-Tinville, the public accuser. To no purpose did all of them appeal to the obedience which they were obliged to pay to the orders of the ruling power and the decrees of the Convention. It was too clear that these monsters had destroyed from sheer love of slaughter for any of their secret protectors to be able to save them. Fouquier-Tinville was executed with fifteen judges and jurymen, whom the tribunal had declared guilty of the most infamous violation of all judicial forms, amidst the scornful clamour of the furious populace and the execrations of the then rulers, who, he predicted, would speedily follow him. Great as was the number of those deserving death, if inquiry had been made concerning all the blood shed unjustly, the vengeance of the law in propitiation of outraged humanity terminated here: the multitude of the guilty seemed to forbid complete satisfaction.

The chief upholders of the rule of terror, however,

Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrère, who were pointed out as the great criminals, were not suffered to escape with entire impunity. After abortive charges had been several times preferred against them, it was decreed in March, 1795, that an investigation should be instituted into their conduct. Conscious of their guilt, they had no hope of saving themselves but by a popular insurrection, which, owing to the dearth prevailing in Paris, it seemed very easy to excite. On the 12th of Germinal (April 1) a horde of half-famished labouring men and furious women burst into the hall of the Convention, shouting, "Bread and the Constitution of 1793!" The petitioners were already mixing among the deputies, the accused rising to issue decrees, the Jacobin minority fancying themselves in possession of supreme power, when Freron's youths, *la jeunesse dorée* as they were called, seasonably arrived. They drove the intruders out of the hall, and restored the preponderance of the moderate majority. The Convention then appointed Pichegru, who happened to be in Paris, commandant of the National Guard, and hastened to dispose of the three great criminals, "the assassins who were to have been delivered by the insurrection." With a clemency which is easily accounted for on this occasion, but which is not often extended to the worst of men, their lives were spared, and they were sentenced to be transported to the wilds of Guiana, in South America.* Seventeen others were taken into custody, and among them Lecointre of Versailles, who had originally come forward as accuser of the condemned members of

* Collot d'Herbois, during his exile, attempted to excite the negroes to insurrection against the whites, and died in January, 1796, in the fort of Sinnemari; Billaud-Varennes found means to get away to North America; Barrère escaped on the way to Rochfort, and was permitted to return to France by Bonaparte, under whom he held various petty offices in Paris, and was living in 1831 in great poverty at Brussels.

the old Committee of Welfare, and was then declared to be a lunatic, but had afterwards taken part in the commotion raised for their deliverance.

Moderatism abounded in such contradictions, because a feeling of weakness and insecurity necessarily haunted those who, in the consciousness of former crimes, incessantly dreaded lest, by following up their victory too far, they should endanger the Republic and their own safety. Secret royalists and friends of the old order of things contributed to complicate matters, and to prevent the total downfall of the Jacobins, or to raise them again for a moment, by persisting in the mischievous notion that the excess of terrorist mania would serve their purposes and tend to the re-establishment of the ancient system, whereas the victory of moderation and order would have a contrary effect, and consolidate the edifice of revolutionary ideas.

The ablest men in the assembly had, in fact, arrived at the conviction that the rule of the Convention, shaken by party conflicts, could not last. A committee of eleven was therefore appointed to prepare a constitution which should solve the grand problem of the age, and combine republican ideas with the necessary conditions and consequences of the social state, liberty and equality, with obedience and subordination. Sieyes, who had maintained profound silence in the time of terror, without prejudice to his cheaply acquired reputation of being the profoundest statesman of the age, was placed at the head of this committee. The Jacobins, genuine and simulated, determined to obstruct the execution of this design at all hazards, succeeded so far as to induce the terrorist minority of the Convention to rally their utmost force for a decisive conflict.

The embarrassment of the moderate party was just then increased by the dearth, which was a natural consequence of revolutionary events and exertions, and which

rose to an unexampled height, as soon as the abolition of the maximum, on the 24th of December, 1794, had suddenly thrown the whole pressure of the scarcity on the great mass of the people. At the same time, the fall of the assignats attendant on the cessation of terror deprived the Convention of the prodigious pecuniary resources which had hitherto been at its disposal. Thus it became from day to day more difficult to maintain the reins of power against a populace infuriated by despair and by factious incendiaries.

The daily ration of bread allowed to the people of Paris was reduced in May, 1795, from one pound per head to six ounces; the streets were filled with meagre pallid figures; the Convention became an object of public execration. Royalty was not in a more perilous predicament in 1789 and 1792, and moderation seemed destined to renew its death-struggle. As in 1792 the 20th of June was followed by a 10th of August, so in 1795 the 12th of Germinal (April 1) was followed by a 1st of Prairial (May 20). On that day vast masses of people thronged to the Tuileries, and forced their way into the hall of the sovereign assembly, demanding bread and the constitution of 1793. The guard was overpowered, and the deputies of the predominant party put to flight. Feraud, courageously supporting the president, Boissy d'Anglas, who firmly kept his seat, was shot by a pistol and fell, when a female fury with a wooden shoe completed the murder. The insurgents, having gained possession of the president's chair, the benches of the deputies, and the galleries, issued terrorist decrees. The committees meanwhile continued assembled in a neighbouring house; and the troops, which for some days they had been drawing into the city and mingling with the national guard, headed by Legendre, succeeded in clearing the hall. The expelled majority returned; the terrorists, who fled

in their turn, were sought out and apprehended; the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, which had formally put themselves into a state of defence, were overpowered, and after a resistance of two days obliged to deliver up the fugitives and their cannon.

In consequence of this insurrection, the first quelled by the military, properly so called, such measures were adopted as broke the force hitherto inherent in the mob. Women were excluded from the galleries, men admitted only with tickets, and a body of regular military, called the legion of the general police, was formed in the city. Besides several of the ringleaders taken in the fact, six terrorist deputies were sent to the scaffold; two put an end to their lives to escape the like fate; others fled. Orders were issued for apprehending several agents of Jacobinism, including Pache and Bouchotte, and all the former members of the committees, excepting Carnot and two others. Robespierre's tail appeared now to be annihilated, and the victory of the moderatists secured.

After the 9th of Thermidor, not one of the departments had expressed itself in any other language but that of congratulation on the fall of the tyrant; several of them immediately transmitted complaints against emissaries of the two committees who had been the agents of terrorism in the provinces. A spirit of reaction possessed hundreds of thousands who had to deplore the loss of relatives and friends, or the ruin of their circumstances and prospects. In Marseilles alone, though disclaiming all sympathy with Robespierre, terrorist sentiments continued to prevail; and in consequence of disturbances originating in that cause, the city was declared in a state of siege, and Cadroi, Isnard, and Chambon were sent thither by the Convention. Their presence gave a powerful impulse to the reaction. The prisons in and around Marseilles were filled with terrorists, but among them was confined many

an innocent citizen, who had shown warmth or eccentricity in the expression of his republican patriotism. The reaction, manifestly favoured by the Convention in the recall of terrorist commissioners, in the removal of local authorities holding the like sentiments, and in the dissolution of the revolutionary committees, soon began to exercise a cruel retaliation.

The South of France again became the theatre of horrors. The multitude of emigrants who returned with impunity, and the royalist and Girondist incentives, stimulated to acts of savage violence. In the department of Bouches du Rhone, where the passions are the most fiery, individual murders of a political character were committed so early as the end of 1794. Bands soon began to be formed at Marseilles and Lyons, similar to the Jeunesse dorée of Paris, which hunted down the terrorists, and perpetrated the same kind of atrocities as their victims had before done. They styled themselves Companies of Jesus, or of the Sun. In the spring of 1795, the terrorists were persecuted, maltreated, and some of them put to death by members of these companies, whose language seemed to be copied from that of the instigators of the September massacres: nor was it long before those massacres themselves began to be imitated by the slaughter of prisoners *en masse*. The *Reveil du Peuple* was their hymn of blood.

The first of these tragic scenes took place at Lyons. Here the terrorists, called Mathevons, were exposed to the persecutions of a decidedly pronounced royalist reaction, which aimed at placing young "Capet" on the throne, and entertained hopes of making Lyons in that case the capital of France. The prisons were stormed on the 5th of May, 1795, and a considerable number of terrorist prisoners, according to one statement ninety-seven, including five women, were put to death. The

Convention ordered the murderers to be tried; but they were acquitted, even applauded; and it was not till the royalist reaction in Paris demanded the attention of the legislature that it set seriously about quelling these sanguinary proceedings.

At Aix, twenty-nine prisoners were butchered on the 11th of May, and Chambon, the deputy, did not exert himself as he might have done to prevent the enormity. The tidings of these horrible explosions of revenge spread consternation throughout all the neighbouring towns.

In Toulon, where royalist opinions had two years before been so predominant that the inhabitants chose rather to throw themselves into the arms of England than to submit to the victorious Mountain, the Jacobins had gradually so increased in number, that, instead of being persecuted, they could now venture to play the part of persecutors. Under the banner of the red cap, they first disarmed the communes around the city, and, having seized a number of emigrants, who had been driven involuntarily upon the coast, and whose lives Bonaparte had saved with great difficulty in a previous tumult, they returned in triumph. They next insisted that Brunel and Niou, the commissioners of the Convention, should condemn these emigrants on the spot, and immediately release the terrorists confined in Fort la Malgue. As the deputies refused to comply, they took upon themselves the office of executioners, and, as soon as they had liberated their brethren, they planted cannon before the gates of the city, gained the workmen in the arsenal, plundered it of arms, and required of the commissioners the evacuation of all the forts, and the detention of the squadron bound for Corsica. Brunel, finding all efforts to appease the rioters ineffectual, shot himself, and Niou took refuge on board one of the ships, where

he contrived by all sorts of little flatteries to secure the crews in the interest of the Convention.

Several thousands of the insurgents, many of them without weapons of any kind, now started in an irregular mass for Marseilles, to prevent the threatened slaughter of the terrorists imprisoned in that city. Isnard and Chambon, the deputies, had left it at the head of the armed force, on the first intelligence of the disturbance at Toulon, and, meeting the rioters, they suddenly attacked and dispersed them. The victors wreaked a sanguinary vengeance: among those doomed to die were sixty sailors, who had accompanied the mob wholly unarmed. Four thousand five hundred seamen were scattered as fugitives over the country; and by this affair a severe blow was inflicted on the French navy. The garrison of Toulon had meanwhile rallied; the workmen in the arsenal laid down their arms; and, after the flag of insurrection had waved for ten days in that city, the republican troops entered it on the 29th of May, and order was restored.

In Marseilles, the Company of the Sun, under a leader named Robin, meanwhile took advantage of the absence of the armed force, and prepared to attack fort St. Jean, where a great number of prisoners were confined, and among them the two younger sons of the duke of Orleans. The commandant of the fort and his adjutant seem to have favoured the design; and Cadroy, the deputy, who, on the departure of Isnard and Chambon, had been left alone at Marseilles, made no efforts whatever to prevent it. For nearly a fortnight before the slaughter, the prisoners were deprived of all their effects, maltreated, and kept upon bread and water. On the 5th of June, the Company of the Sun forced an entrance into the fort, raised the drawbridge behind them, and butchered thirty-eight prisoners with circumstances of the greatest cruelty.

They would have continued their bloody work, had not the commandant of the citadel sent grenadiers, who saved the rest of the prisoners. Cadroy not only strove to prevent the sending of these troops, but spoke encouragingly to the murderers, as Billaud-Varennes and Tallien had done at the September massacres, and set at liberty fourteen of them whom the grenadiers had seized.

At Tarascon, the prison was broken open on the 24th of May by a bloodthirsty band; twenty-four persons were put to death, and their bodies thrown over the rocks into the Rhone. A repetition of these scenes took place on the 20th of June, when twenty-three prisoners were slaughtered, and among them two women.

Royalism now began to conceive hopes of arriving at its goal. The nation seemed to be sufficiently taught the necessity of monarchy by woful experience of the happiness of republican forms and by the miseries of tyranny, and the dominant party itself to be disposed to the re-establishment of the throne. A great number of emigrant nobles and priests had already obtained and availed themselves of permission to return; and persons were daily arriving in Paris who scarcely made a secret of it that the aim of their plans and commissions was to effect a counter-revolution. The state of the two royal children, concerning whom some had ventured to inquire as soon as the spell of terror was broken, inspired the liveliest sympathy. The Convention itself issued orders for alleviating their confinement, and sent deputies to carry them into execution. They found the son of Louis XVI. imbecile both in body and mind, in consequence of the ill-usage which he had received from the infamous Simon, the shoemaker, appointed by Robespierre to be his tormentor, and who had accompanied his master to the scaffold. All the attempts made to induce him to speak could not draw from him a single word: the

only reply was an idiot stare, which left it uncertain whether he could not or would not answer. In this state died, on the 8th of June, 1795, aged ten years, the unfortunate boy who is registered in the annals of the French monarchy as Louis XVII.

This event, however, which transferred the crown from a child to a man, might have been advantageous to monarchy, if that man had been a second Henry IV. The count of Provence, who resided at Verona by the name of count de Lille, and now assumed the title of Louis XVIII., though he was not acknowledged as such by the European powers, did in fact compare the situation and sentiments of his celebrated ancestor on his accession with his own; for, in a manifesto addressed to the French nation, he proclaimed himself its new sovereign, and declared it to be his determination to wrest, like that hero, the crown of his forefathers from the hands of rebels. It was assumed as a certainty in this document that the nation was anxious to return to its former state; it drew a comparison between the happiness of that and the present misery; it announced the re-establishment of the old excellent constitution of the kingdom, which guaranteed their rights to all classes, which had subsisted as long as the French monarchy, and only been deformed by abuses; it promised the correction of those abuses which had crept in during the last centuries only; but it proved, both in tone and in substance, that emigrant France was an utter stranger to the spirit and the relations which the Revolution had developed at home, and, above all, that it was destitute of the tact requisite for turning the party-feuds in Paris to its own advantage.

The assumption that a great majority of the people longed, in the feeling of present misery, for the return of the former order of things might not be erroneous in itself; still the proclamation of a design to restore the

ancient system unconditionally could not fail to make a great number adverse to it, and that number comprehended the more powerful and respectable portion of the nation. The grievous miseries which the middle classes had endured had not disposed them to receive back with open arms those whom they considered as the authors or at least the cause of their sufferings. The lower class of the country-people were alarmed by the prospect of the re-establishment of tithes and of seignorial rights, the higher by fear lest the national estates which they had purchased should be reclaimed: it was natural that they should wish rather to retain the advantages which the revolution had procured them at the expense of the heretofore privileged orders. What served still more than these material props to uphold the revolution was that love of rule which it had engendered and incorporated with itself, that fondness for pleasure, which scorns the peaceful enjoyments of tranquil life, and seeks happiness only in violent excitements. Precisely the ablest men, who were at the helm of the Republic or striving to attain it, were most deeply imbued with this ambitious, selfish, irreligious spirit of refined Jacobinism, and saw in the new form of society all the roads to honour and prosperity opened to them, at least for a time; while the restorers of the throne and the altar threatened them with something worse than mere removal from their posts. Promises were held out, it is true, that all Frenchmen who should renounce mischievous opinions and throw themselves at the foot of the throne should be again received into favour as children; that those authors of the popular excesses whom divine justice had not yet overtaken should be left to the punishment of their consciences alone; that they who had dared to take part in the execrable trial of their sovereign should be unharmed, if there was reason to presume that they had mingled among the members

solely with the intention of averting the parricidal axe from his sacred head: on the other hand, all those wretches whose infamous lips had pronounced sentence of death upon the king, together with all the immediate instruments of his murder, and all the members of the tribunal by which the queen was condemned, were doomed to the sword of justice. Sagacious observers of passing events could not draw from this document any great hope that royalism would again rear its head in France; and Louis XVIII. himself, when, twenty years later, he ascended the throne, was too sensible of his former mistake to attempt to revive the principles promulgated from Verona.

His adherents, however, were far from relying exclusively on the free acknowledgment of his right by means of a change to be wrought in the sentiments of the government and of the capital. The Prince of Condé, posted with a small corps of emigrants at Mühlheim, on the left wing of the imperial army of the Rhine, opened, through the medium of a M. de Montgaillard, a secret negociation with Pichegru, who, after the conquest of Holland, had assumed the chief command on the Rhine. According to republican witnesses, it was money and brilliant prospects that induced the general, who was fond of pleasure, and excessively straitened in circumstances,* to listen to the wishes of the royalists: while the latter assert that the scenes in Paris in Germinal had matured in his mind a conviction that republican misrule could not possibly last. We are not acquainted with the details of the plan for gaining the army, and leading it to Paris for the re-establishment of the throne; but so much is certain,

* The monthly pay of the general-in-chief then amounted to 4,000 francs in assignats, not equal to 100 in ready money. Incessantly watched by commissioners of the Convention he had no opportunity to help himself from other sources.

that Pichegru was not the man for performing such great things any more than Lafayette or Dumouriez: and that the old prince of Condé (born in 1736), imbued with the spirit of the court and age of Louis XV., was utterly incompetent to quell the tumult of the revolutionary elements. For the moment, however, the design was thwarted by mutual distrust, and by the vigilance of Rewbel, the deputy, who closely watched the general, and urged him on to decisive military operations, though the latter did not on that account relinquish his plan for the future.

The schemes of Condé and Pichegru were partly calculated upon the success of an enterprise, by which the emigrants sought, in the summer of 1795, to gain a firm footing in the interior of the Republic. Though the insurrection in La Vendée, which had spread over Bretagne, where the royalist troops were called Chouans, (probably from *chats-huants*, screech-owls, the name given to the bands of smugglers who joined the royalists when the abolition of the old system of tolls put an end to their trade) had been recently terminated by a peace, still, at the instigation of the imperial court, which was desirous of lightening the burden of the war thrown entirely upon its shoulders, it was resolved to send an expedition, long talked of, but postponed till the proper time was past, to some part of the coast of France. It was expected that the interior would fly to arms the moment a member of the royal family should raise his standard; and Count d'Artois, who, according to the assurances of his adherents, inherited the arm and the sword of Henry IV., was destined for this service. The actual soul of the whole enterprise, however, was the emigrant count Puisaye, who had belonged to the left side, in the first National Assembly. The original plan included 6,000 emigrants, the like number of British troops, a regiment

of artillery, and stores for equipping 80,000 men; for the emigrants were to form only the nucleus of the masses by which on landing they expected to be joined. The British minister, on receiving positive intelligence of the pacification of La Vendée, objected to risk an English corps; he was for abandoning the affair altogether, but at last assented to a middle course; it was agreed that Puisaye should make the attempt with the emigrants alone, and, if he could push on to Rennes, reinforcements should be sent to him. Even this small number was not embarked at once, but in two divisions, at different places and at different times—the first division at the end of May at Portsmouth, the second in the beginning of June at Stade—and, what was still worse, while Puisaye, the author of the expedition, was considered as its natural leader, Count d'Hervilly, formerly colonel of the regiment of Soubise, was appointed, with the rank of marechal de camp, to command all the troops in English pay, and the emigrants were in that predicament. A third division, composed of real British troops, was to follow, as soon as certain intelligence of the success of the first two should be received: it was to bring out Count d'Artois as generalissimo of the whole.

The beginning was propitious. The English fleet under Lord Bridport defeated, on the 24th of June, that of the French under Villaret-Joyeuse, who had sailed from Brest to prevent the expedition, and obliged him to seek refuge in the harbour of L'Orient. The victors were now completely masters of the sea; and three days afterwards, the first division, under Puisaye and d'Hervilly, landed on the southern coast of Bretagne, below the peninsula of Quiberon, between Crac and Carnac. George Cadoual, one of the ablest of the Chouan chiefs, was waiting for it with a considerable royalist force, which soon increased to between ten and twelve thousand

men, who were immediately armed, and uniformly clothed in red. The republican general Hoche, who had to defend an extensive tract of coast, had only sixteen or seventeen thousand men: Canclaux, it is true, had in the interior an army of 50,000, but could not leave La Vendée, where Charette and Stofflet had already renewed the war. With such favourable prospects, Puisaye resolved to push on to Rennes, and so spread the insurrection over Normandy, before Hoche could take measures to prevent him. This intention was opposed by d'Hervilly, who declared that it would be too hazardous to venture far from the ships; that they ought first to train the Chouans to arms, to wait for the arrival of the second division, and to make their position in the peninsula perfectly secure. The disagreement led to explanations, from which it appeared that Puisaye had no commission whatever from the English government, and d'Hervilly asserted his right to the command of all the troops in British pay. As his claim was favoured by the emigrants, the real leader, though general of the royal and Catholic armies of France, found himself at last without command, and degraded to a mere volunteer. He immediately transmitted a report to London, but yet valuable time was lost. The royalist agents in Paris, moreover, were hostile to the whole enterprise, prepossessed the Vendean chiefs against it, and at last formally forbade them to have any connection with it. The narrow-minded partisans of the court, actuated by petty vanity, were actually alarmed lest the throne should be re-established by any but themselves, and affected to believe that England designed to make the Duke of York king of France. On the other hand, they recommended the assistance of Spain, which was fully occupied by her own affairs, and was just then making her peace with the Republic.

Under such an unlucky concurrence of circumstances, Hoche alone found laurels to gather. He was meanwhile receiving reinforcements from all quarters. The advantages won by the royalists were soon lost; and, on the 17th of July, when the second division under Sombreuil disembarked, it only increased the number of victims of this hapless expedition. The royalists first suffered themselves to be enclosed by formal lines of entrenchments; and then Fort Penthièvre, which served them for a point of support, to be taken from them by a nocturnal attack. In the action which followed, on the 21st of July, their discomfiture was completed. D'Hervilly, severely wounded in a previous sortie, had been made prisoner; Puisaye escaped to the English ships, but many hundred others who, following his example, reached the boats, perished from overloading them: the rest, prevented from embarking by the artillery of the conquerors, surrendered upon a sort of verbal capitulation of Sombreuil, their leader, who might have saved himself like Puisaye, but generously risked his life in the hope of saving the lives of his colleagues. Several other officers, possessing less confidence, leaped with their horses from the cliff into the sea, or put an end to themselves in other ways. The whole army had amounted to 7,000 men; of these about 2,000 escaped to the ships, and 5,000 were made prisoners.

Hoche ordered them to be conducted to Vannes, while Tallien, who had been with the army as commissioner of the Convention, hastened to Paris, to heighten by a bombastic report the effect of the festival held on the anniversary of Robespierre's downfall. As so much was said that day about the overthrow of the system of blood, and the triumph of humanity, one might have expected that, agreeably to the wish of the general, at least part of the prisoners might have been exempted from the operation

of the laws against emigrants; but humanity dwelt only on the tongues of the babblers about virtue; and it was in regard to great criminals alone—a Billaud, a Collot, a Barrère—that the moderates felt any qualms about the spilling of blood. Tallien himself made a motion for revenge and death, and supported it by producing a poisoned dagger, which he pretended to have taken from one of the knights of Quiberon. All actual royalists were therefore condemned *en masse* and shot. To no purpose did the commission appointed for this purpose grant a respite to more than two hundred young men who had emigrated before they were sixteen years old; peremptory orders were sent not to spare one of them. The services which 600 young naval officers might have rendered in the sequel were alike disregarded. Sombreuil persisted till the last in pleading for the lives of his associates, guaranteed by the capitulation. They died with that firmness which community in misfortune generally imparts; many of them, before they suffered, making presents of their coats to the half naked republicans by whom they were to be shot.

Four weeks after this deplorable catastrophe, on the 25th of August, Count d'Artois sailed from Plymouth, with the third division of this luckless expedition, consisting of 140 transports. The English fleet anchored off the island of Noirmoutier; the prince took post in the Isle Dieu, on the coast of La Vendée, a rock about a league in circumference, which afforded no shelter even from the tempestuous sea, but was nevertheless fortified with great labour by general Doyle, chief of the staff. The intention was, with the co-operation of Charette, to land the army between Bourgneuf and Aiguillon. But though the Vendean leaders arrived in time, with considerable bodies of forces, still the whole design was frustrated by the usual delays, misunderstandings, and

dissensions. Count d'Artois exhibited none of the courage and resolution which are the first requisites for such an enterprise. The minds of himself and his attendants were too fearfully haunted by the fate of d'Hervilly and Sombreuil; and, on the 18th of November, he returned ingloriously to England.

During these transactions, the former jealous aversion continued to subsist between Charette and Stofflet. The former had been supplied in the month of August by the English, who landed near St. Jean de Mont, with military stores and uniforms: but, as we have seen, he had no communication with the emigrants during their occupation of the Isle Dieu. Hoche, appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the West, took not less pains to win the insurgents by conciliatory measures than to reduce them by force. He pushed forward armed posts further and further from Nantes, so that the bands of the Vendeans, reduced to very inconsiderable numbers, were more and more closely cooped up. Stofflet nevertheless resumed his arms in January, 1796. Some petty advantages opened no brighter prospects to the insurgents; but, though their chiefs clearly perceived that their cause was hopeless, they determined to resist to the last. Roving about singly, without any fixed abode, they were hunted down by the republicans. Stofflet was first taken and shot at Angers on the 26th of February.

About the same time, Hoche summoned Charette to submit, engaging to ensure to him a free embarkation for England and the full enjoyment of the revenues of his estates; but, though his force was now reduced to about 200 men, the chief, actuated by the resolution of despair, would not listen to any compromise. Even when his band had dwindled to thirty-two, he hazarded another encounter, in which he fell wounded into the hands of the enemy. Being conveyed to Nantes, he was sentenced to

die by a military commission, and shot on the 29th of March. He would not allow his eyes to be bandaged, and it is alleged that he died with feelings of animosity against the princes who had left him in the lurch.

The provinces south of the Loire were now completely pacified. The Chouans, whose principal leaders, Scepeaux, Bourmont, and Georges Cadoual, prosecuted the contest with great obstinacy, were subdued after a series of actions, some of them very sanguinary. Several of their chiefs escaped to England, leaving behind them in Bretagne more embers for a new insurrection than in la Vendée.

CHAPTER XLII.

NEW FRENCH CONSTITUTION—POPULAR INSURRECTION.

While the unfortunate enterprises of the royalists were leading the Convention back to terrorism, the constitution, on the acceptance of which that assembly was to give place to new authorities, was completed. Were it for nothing else, this constitution would have been a benefit; but, compared with the rule of the Convention and the tyranny of its committees, the change was manifestly for the better, being a transition from anarchy to a state of law. The legislature was in future to consist of two chambers or bodies, the Council of Five Hundred for the introduction and framing of laws, and the Council of Elders, composed of two hundred and fifty deputies, upwards of forty years of age, for confirming the legislative enactments: while the executive government was to be committed to five directors with six ministers. One-third of the members of the two chambers were to be

replaced every year, and one of the directors was to go out annually and not be re-eligible for five years. These arrangements, though affording no favourable augury for the stability of the government, were adopted in the belief that they would conduce to the preservation of liberty.

Though the Convention was to be dissolved, yet its members were not disposed to quit the theatre of their power, and exerted themselves to the utmost to secure their re-admission into the number of the rulers who, under a new name, were to govern France. In this spirit, the constitution transferred two-thirds of the deputies of the Convention to the new legislative assembly; supplemental decrees, on the 19th and 30th of August (2 and 13 Fructidor), enacted that new elections should be held to supply the place of the outgoing third; but, in case several of the electoral colleges should choose the same persons, the consequent vacancies should be filled by the Convention out of its own body. The ambitious legislators foresaw that this additional article would be rejected, owing to the unfavourable disposition of the citizens in the primary assemblies, to which that, as well as the whole constitution, would have to be submitted; they therefore began with collecting the votes of the armies, though these were acknowledged to be only obeying bodies, and then promulgated with triumph the result, which accorded with their wishes. When the supplementary article was nevertheless rejected in Paris, they published a statement of votes, representing that it had been accepted. All Paris was in a ferment.

The discontent of the citizens on account of the decrees relative to the new elections was increased by the constitutional article passed on the 5th Thermidor, that the emigrants should be banished for ever, and their estates

confiscated; by the decree of the 13th of Fructidor, suspending erasure from the list of emigrants; and even by a salutary resolution of the same day against stock-jobbers, by whose means the general distress arising from the continued depreciation of the assignats was aggravated, and who were aptly called the soldiers of the coalition. The sections likewise took offence, because the Convention had collected troops in a camp near the capital. Deputations were sent by the sections to lay their complaints before the Convention; and the section of Lepelletier was distinguished above all the others by the strong spirit of re-action which now began to be directed *en masse* against the Assembly. Aware that it could rely upon the troops, it adopted the most unconstitutional measure of causing the army to vote upon the new constitution. Addresses poured in, promising the acceptance of that constitution; but the sections were not to be diverted from the prosecution of their designs.

The primary assemblies in Paris met on the 6th of September (20 Fructidor). The course to be pursued by them was pointed out by the section of Lepelletier, which issued a declaration that the citizens of Paris collectively, and each of them individually, had a right to express their opinions freely on the constitution, and should therefore be placed under the immediate protection of the primary assemblies. It then recommended the election of forty-eight commissioners of sections, to form a central committee and to draw up an authentic declaration of the sentiments of the inhabitants of Paris, for the purpose of being transmitted to the departments. A disposition to retaliate the spirit shown in the elections to the Convention was now manifested in the exclusion of partisans of terror or sans-culotte citizens from the primary assemblies. The Convention decreed that the formation

of a committee of deputies of the sections should be treated as high treason; and on the other hand several sections rejected the two obnoxious decrees.

On the 1st of Vendemiaire, September 23rd, the result of the votes of the primary assemblies on the new constitution and on the two decrees was laid before the Convention, from which it appeared that, out of 958,226 voters, 914,853 had accepted the constitution, and 41,892 rejected it; and that, out of 263,131 who had voted upon the resolutions of the 5th and 13th Fructidor, 167,758 approved, and 93,373 protested against them. The armies had all transmitted favourable addresses. The president therefore declared, in the name of the French people, that it had accepted the new constitution, and proclaimed it, together with the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor, to be the fundamental law of the State. The electoral assemblies were thereupon summoned for the 20th Vendemiaire, but at the same time it was decreed that no more collective petitions should be received.

Tumultuous movements in the Palais Royal immediately ensued. The Convention, it was publicly alleged, had given a false report on the decrees of Fructidor—a charge by no means unfounded—and these decrees were asserted to be contrary to the sovereignty of the people: alarming reports were circulated; the mischievous designs of the *buveurs de sang* were talked of; in the following days, shots were fired at the armed force; and young men ran about the streets, shouting, "Down with the two-thirds!" The Convention, on its part, issued admonitory decrees threatening to hold Paris responsible for the safety of the national representatives; in case of any violence, to remove the new legislative assembly to Chalons; and to march troops against Paris; moreover, that all presidents and secretaries of primary assemblies who submitted to them or subscribed anything foreign to

the business of those meetings, should be deemed guilty of a violation of the public safety. It was resolved that the session of the Convention should close on the 5th Brumaire, ten days earlier than the time fixed in a former decree. On receiving intelligence that the electoral assemblies of several sections were summoned to meet on the 11th Vendemiaire, and that mention was made of an armed force, the Convention decreed that the primary assemblies which had finished their elections should immediately separate; that none of the others should continue together beyond the 15th; that the electoral assemblies should not open before the 20th: and at the same time that its sittings should be permanent.

Meanwhile, the electors of Paris had assembled at the Odeon, in the section of the Théâtre français; and the old duke de Nivernois, whom the Revolution seemed to have hitherto forgotten, was drawn from his retirement to fill the president's chair, not without forebodings that compliance with the wishes of his fellow-citizens might cost him his life. The decree of the Convention, proclaimed at night by torch-light, was received here and in other sections with shouts of derision. Forty-four of the sections were in insurrection, and from twenty to thirty thousand national guards, without cannon, it is true, and without the people of the faubourg St. Antoine, who had professed attachment to the Convention and their readiness to arm in its behalf. The principal strength of this force consisted in the grenadier and chasseur companies; the others were not completely organized. In the evening, when Menou, commander of the army of the interior, arrived, with troops, the assembly dispersed.

In the night, the Convention addressed a proclamation to the sans-culottes, who had rendered eminent service in preceding insurrections: and early in the morning of the 12th Vendemiaire (October 4th) a deputation of them

appeared at the bar of the assembly by the name of "Patriots of 1789." About 1500 daring fellows were at hand ready for fight; their motto was, "Liberty, equality, unity." With these patriots, who took an oath of fidelity to the Convention, was formed a force which, on the motion of Tallien, was called the *bataillon sacré*. The forty-four sections now declared that they would obey no further orders of the assembly, and issued stirring proclamations: all day long the generale was beat in the streets, and armed bodies collected in the section of Lepelletier, the rendezvous of which was the convent of Filles St. Thomas in the rue Vivienne, where the Exchange now stands. The Convention had drawn troops from the camp at Sablons into the city, but their leaders were destitute of spirit and energy. Menou declined the command of the patriot battalion, saying, so Barras alleged, that he would not march with a band of villains and assassins: Berruyer, an old and worthy officer, was therefore placed at its head. It was not till evening that the columns marched against the force of the sections. Menou was accompanied by Laporte, the deputy: neither of them was heartily disposed for the attack; unwilling to spill the blood of citizens, they negociated, and, upon an understanding that both parties should retire, they marched away the troops without having fired a shot. These tidings produced stormy scenes in the Convention; Menou was called a traitor, and a motion made for his arrest.

The 13th Vendemiaire (October 5) the counterpart to the 31st of May and the 2nd of June, 1793, was the decisive day. The sections had omitted in the evening of the 12th to profit by Menou's irresolution. Early in the morning, the Convention appointed Barras to the chief command of the armed force, and through him Napoleon Bonaparte became the prominent actor in the

tragedy which ensued. This officer, after distinguishing himself in the recovery of Toulon, had, during the reign of terror, found a patron in the younger Robespierre—nay, it is alleged that he was on such terms with the elder, as to be offered by him the command of the national guard of Paris, instead of Henriot, which, however, Bonaparte declined. Known as a stanch terrorist, he was apprehended at the time of the re-action in August, 1794; being soon released and replaced in his profession, he was dismissed at the instigation of Aubry in April, 1795. This circumstance brought him to Paris, whither he was accompanied by Junot. His representations addressed to Aubry were unavailing: he was offered the appointment of general in the army in la Vendée, and lived for some time in privacy in Paris. On the retirement of Aubry from the Committee of Welfare, he recommended himself to Doulcet de Pontecoulant and Letourneur by a masterly plan for the conduct of the war in Italy, and through their influence he obtained an appointment in the office for the direction of army movements. During the discussion which took place on the choice of a commander of the armed force, Bonaparte happened to be present. Soon afterwards, Barras sent for him; in the committee he was nominated second in command, and to him Barras left the military arrangements.

It was four in the morning when Barras and Bonaparte commenced their operations. The armed force of the Convention amounted to about 8000 men, including the people of the four sections which espoused its cause. Captain Murat, despatched by Bonaparte to secure the artillery, forty pieces, in the camp at Sablons, was but just in time to anticipate the men of the section of Lepelletier, who were advancing with the same design. Bonaparte occupied the quays from the Pont Neuf to the Champs Elysés, and all the approaches to the other sides

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of the Tuileries; his posts were scantily manned, but his artillery gave him a prodigious advantage over the sectionaries, who were wholly unprovided with cannon. He sent 800 muskets and cartouch-boxes to the Convention for the deputies; and St. Cloud was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous in case of their dispersion.

The sections had not been idle. They had constituted a central commission of eleven members and a military commission; they had made themselves masters of the horse-depot, the public treasury, and the convoys of provisions destined for the troops of the Convention; they detained members of that assembly as hostages, outlawed its committees, and instituted a revolutionary tribunal. It was evident that they intended to take sanguinary revenge in case they should be victorious. The commanders of the sectionaries were the ex-generals Duhoux and Danican, both of whom had served without distinction, while the latter had been accused of cowardice in la Vendée, and was incontestably a man of very mean abilities. Their battalions occupied the whole rue St. Honoré, the church of St. Roche, the Place Vendôme, and the Pálais Royal.

A letter addressed by Danican to the committees, desiring that the "patriots" should be disarmed, led to a discussion, at the most critical moment of which Sieyes is said to have drawn Bonaparte to a window, and, remarking that his colleagues could do nothing but talk, to have emphatically exhorted the young general to *act*. In the Convention also there appeared to be a party disposed to negotiate, till Chenier's exclamation, "For us there is now no alternative but victory or death!" recalled the members to a just sense of their situation.

At half-past four, the battalions of the sections advanced from the streets and across the bridges. They had not neglected to occupy the houses around the Convention;

but the march of their columns upon the Tuileries was to decide the contest. These, however, exhibited no determination for prompt and vigorous attack, but seemed rather to expect that, according to the insinuations of their leaders, the troops of the Convention would be ready to fraternize with them; and the great mass conceived that there would be no real conflict. All at once, shots were fired, by what party is to this day unexplained, from a house near the palace of Noailles; the thunder of the artillery immediately followed; the attack of the sectionaries was baffled. The church of St. Roche was the only point at which they made any serious resistance; consternation and confusion pervaded the mass; and by six o'clock the victory of the Convention was decided. The slaughter was not so great as might have been expected: only 200 of the sectionaries are reported to have been killed or wounded, and the loss on the part of the Convention cannot have equalled that of its adversaries. In the pursuit which followed, Bonaparte ordered the guns not to be shotted. Here and there, the insurgents attempted to raise barricades; but, in the course of the evening, these half-finished bulwarks fell into the hands of the conquerors. The succours advancing to the assistance of the sections from several communes around Paris were dispersed without effort. It was only in the section of Lepelletier that the insurgents continued assembled during the night, still cherishing hopes and sending deputies to the others: but, on the morning of the 14th Vendemiaire, at the approach of the battalions of the Convention, they laid down their arms or fled with precipitation. In the evening of that day, the theatres were as full as though nothing had happened.

The disarming of the insurgents, which took place in the succeeding days, required no further exercise of force: at the same time, the influence of the commune of Paris

was completely neutralized by a series of new regulations. The staff and the grenadier and chasseur companies of the national guard were abolished, the sectional meetings on the Decadi suppressed, and Paris was divided, by virtue of an article of the new constitution, into twelve municipalities. On the other hand, the military force of the Convention, "the army of the interior," as it was called, was augmented; and, on the recommendation of Barras and Freron, Bonaparte was appointed second in command.

The Convention used its victory with great moderation. A military commission, it is true, pronounced sentence of death on a great number of persons, almost all of whom fled; but, though some of them soon afterwards returned to Paris, they were not molested. Two only were executed—Lebois, who had been president of the assembly in the section of Théâtre français, and Lafond, leader of one of the corps of the insurgents; and the latter indeed might have saved his life, had he possessed the sense to use the arguments which the military commission itself suggested for the purpose. Menou, for whom Bonaparte interested himself, was honourably acquitted. The celebrated Madame de Stael was ordered to leave France.

Tallien, still at heart a terrorist, as he had sufficiently proved in the treatment of the unfortunate prisoners taken at Quiberon, was again an advocate for sanguinary measures against the insurgent sections, but they were overruled by the majority of the Convention. That assembly maintained that the recent commotion had been excited by the royalists, and on the 2nd of Brumaire (October 24) issued a decree which declared not only the relatives of emigrants, but all who had taken the least share in the rejection of the supplementary article, to be civilly dead till the conclusion of a general peace—a measure which excluded nearly one-third of the better class of citizens from public offices of every kind.

That law was one of the last of the 11210 decrees of this terrible assembly. After it had exercised a tyranny without example for upwards of three years, it was at length dissolved on the 3rd of Brumaire (October 26); and, two days afterwards, the legislative councils assembled for the first time. These soon proceeded to the election of five directors, which, as the Conventionalists, who constituted the majority in the Council of Five Hundred, resorted to the trick of inserting none but unknown names in the list along with those whom they favoured, fell upon Barras, Letourneur, Lareveillere-Lepaux, Rewbel, and Sieyes. Instead of the latter, who declined the honour, was chosen Carnot, the only one of these new rulers not unworthy of the post. Of the four others, Barras and Rewbel had largely participated in the excesses of Jacobinism, while Letourneur and Lareveillere-Lepaux were men of no importance and of little ability.

CHAPTER XLIII.

OPERATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND AUSTRIA.

In the session of parliament which met on the 30th of December, 1794, 100,000 men were voted for the naval service of the year, and 119,000 for the land forces. Supplies to the amount of more than twenty-nine million were granted; and a loan of eighteen million was found necessary in addition to a large issue of exchequer-bills.

During this session, the long trial of Mr. Hastings was brought to a conclusion, and he was acquitted on all the charges by a great majority of the peers, to the satisfaction of the nation, which had learned to appreciate the merits of one who had eminently promoted the interest and established the dominion of his employers.

In his speech at the opening of parliament, the king

intimated that a treaty of marriage had been negociated between the prince of Wales and his cousin, the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick. The prince at this time had involved himself in debts to the amount of £630,000. A royal message brought the subject of a suitable establishment for his royal highness under the consideration of the House of Commons, when, after some discussion, it was fixed at £125,000 per annum; but, on the proposal of his majesty, it was agreed that out of this sum £60,000 and the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall should be set apart for the liquidation of the debts.

The incidents of the war near home, in 1795, if less brilliant than those of the preceding year, were still honourable to the British navy. On the 23rd of June, lord Bridport, who had succeeded earl Howe in the command of the Channel fleet, fell in, off l'Orient, with a French fleet of superior force, which he attacked and took three of their ships. In the same month, a French squadron of 13 sail of the line and 14 frigates declined an action with vice-admiral Cornwallis, who was cruising off Brest with only eight sail, including frigates. The retreat of the British commander has been considered one of the finest displays of courage and coolness recorded in our naval history.

In the Mediterranean, vice-admiral Hotham, who had succeeded lord Hood in the command on that station, pursued a fleet which had sailed from Toulon for the recovery of Corsica, and which had taken one of his detached and damaged ships. He brought the enemy to a partial engagement on the 14th of March, and took two sail of the line, one of which, the Ca Ira of 80 guns, was accidentally set on fire and consumed. In the month of September, the other prize, Le Censeur, a 74, was retaken off Cape St. Vincent, with 30 sail of a valuable

convoy homeward bound from the Mediterranean, by a squadron under admiral Richery. In spite of the vigilance of our cruisers, our West India and North American trade suffered severely from the same squadron, and from the numerous frigates and privateers sent out by the enemy.

On the other hand, the French were particularly fortunate in the escape of the small squadrons despatched to the West Indies, which afforded the active and cruel Victor Hugues the means of annoying the smaller islands in the possession of the English. St. Eustatia and St. Lucia were taken by the French, who, exciting the free native Caribs of St. Vincent to join them, had nearly made themselves masters of that island, when it was saved by the arrival of major-general Irving, with a force of between 2000 and 3000 men. Nearly at the same time, the slaves in Granada revolted, and joined the French planters, who, since its cession in 1783, had been unwilling subjects of the British sceptre.

Meanwhile, Jamaica was not exempt from its share of calamity. A tribe of independent negroes called Maroons, descendants of African slaves left behind by the Spaniards, who occupied the mountainous parts on the north side of the island, having quarrelled with the whites, rose in arms, at a time when the colony was nearly drained of troops by the reinforcements despatched to St. Domingo. Such was the alarm consequent on the murders and depredations committed by these savages and on some partial checks sustained by the force sent against them, and so great the difficulty of reaching them in their almost inaccessible fastnesses, that Spanish bloodhounds and hunters were procured from Cuba for the purpose of extirpating them. Fortunately, the war was brought to a termination by the gallantry of the troops, before these auxiliaries could be employed. Having subsequently

violated the terms of the pacification, 600 of these Maroons were removed to Nova Scotia, but, the cold there having proved fatal to many, the survivors were conveyed to Sierra Leone.

The wealth and resources of Holland having been placed by conquest at the disposal of France, it was but natural that the United Provinces should be treated by Great Britain as a hostile power. Accordingly, preparations were speedily made for the reduction of the Dutch colonies. An expedition was despatched in April under admiral sir George Keith Elphinstone and general Craig against the Cape of Good Hope; but though the troops landed and stormed the Dutch entrenched camp on the heights of Muysenburg, near Cape Town, they were too weak to make any decisive attack on that place till the arrival of reinforcements under general Clarke, when the governor capitulated on the 16th of September; the Dutch troops, 1000 in number, became prisoners of war, and a great quantity of naval and military stores fell into the hands of the captors. A few days afterwards, a squadron of three ships of the line, four frigates, and a sloop, with 2000 troops on board, sent by the Dutch government to the assistance of the Cape, was surprised in Saldanha Bay by the British admiral, and surrendered to his superior force, without firing a gun. Operations were meanwhile commenced against the settlements of the Dutch in the East Indies, where Trincomalé, their principal establishment in the island of Ceylon, surrendered on the 26th of August to a British force despatched from Madras under colonel Stewart, and the reduction of Colombo, the residence of the Dutch governor, in the following February, completed the conquest of that important island. The peninsula of Malacca was secured about the same time without much resistance. Cochin and Chinsurah were next attacked, and in the following

spring, the Spice Islands, Amboyna and Banda, were in the hands of the English.

In America, the settlements of Demerara and Essequibo, in Dutch Guyana, were taken in the month of April, together with a frigate and 70 sail of richly freighted merchantmen. Admiral Braak had arrived from Europe with a small squadron timely enough to save Surinam and Curaçoa from the like fate.

Thus in the course of a few months was the Batavian Republic stripped of nearly all her colonies, and her commerce cut up by the roots. In 1795 her shipping was diminished two-thirds; and the following year inflicted its death-blow. In 1790 the Baltic trade of the Dutch occupied 2209 ships, and in 1795, only a single Dutch vessel stole through the Sound.

Towards the close of the year, parliament reassembled at an unusually early period, on the 29th of October. A dearth occasioned by an unfavourable harvest had produced discontent among the lower classes, who conceived that the war tended to aggravate their distress, and this notion was probably encouraged, if not excited, by the sentiments expressed at meetings held by the London Corresponding Society in the open fields, for the avowed purpose of petitioning the king for peace and a parliamentary reform. When his majesty proceeded from the palace through St. James's Park to open the session, a much greater concourse of people than usual was collected there. As he passed, shouts were raised of "Peace! peace! Give us bread! No famine! no war!" Stones and other missiles were thrown at the state carriage in the streets adjacent to Westminster Hall: the like outrages were repeated on his return, and the coach on its way from Pall Mall to the Mews was almost demolished.

Connecting the meetings of the Corresponding Society

with this attack, the ministers brought forward two new penal statutes; the one to provide for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts; and the other for preventing seditious meetings and assemblies. The latter enacted that no meeting of more than fifty persons, unless called by sheriffs or other magistrates, should be held for political purposes without previous notice being given by seven housekeepers; that if such a body should assemble without notice, and twelve or more individuals should continue together, even quietly, for an hour after a legal order for their departure, they should be punished as felons without benefit of clergy; and that any person using seditious language, or proposing the irregular alteration of anything by law established at a meeting held after due notice, should be liable to the like penalty. After very animated discussions in both houses, the two bills passed into laws by the votes of great majorities.

After the conquest of Holland by the French, the only important places on the left bank of the Rhine not in their possession were Luxemburg and Mentz. The former was closely blockaded; and marshal Bender, after defending that fortress for eight months with 10,000 men, was obliged by famine to surrender on the 12th of June. The French encamped before Mentz, but without attempting a regular siege. The first half of the year was thus spent by both parties in a state of comparative inactivity, to which the negociations opened for the deliverance of the daughter of Louis XVI. in some degree contributed. Austria, nevertheless, continued to recruit her armies. From Switzerland to the Neckar she had 87,000 men under Wurmser; and from the Neckar to the Ruhr, 97,000 under Clairfait. The French armies opposed to them were more than equal in number. That

of the Rhine and Moselle under Pichegru amounted to 95,000 men; and that of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, to 97,000; while Holland was covered by 80,000 under Moreau, Souham, and Macdonald.

On the appointment of Doulcet de Pontecoulant to the ministry of war in the place of Aubry, orders were despatched to the French commanders to cross the Rhine without delay. Vessels were hastily collected for the purpose. The army of Jourdan, who had under him Marceau, Kleber, Bernadotte, Lefebvre, Championnet, Grenier, commenced the passage of the river in the night between the 6th and 7th of September, at Düsseldorf, and continued it near Cologne and Neuwied, with complete success. The Austrians were driven back to the Sieg, and soon afterwards to the Lahn and the Mayn. Pichegru, under whom were Desaix, Gouvion St. Cyr, Ferino, Michaud, Mengaud crossed at Manheim, the tête-de-pont of which had been taken by the French at the end of 1794: and entered that city on the 20th of September. The supreme command over both armies was now offered to him, but he declined it; and his conduct soon shewed that he had no desire to gain victories for the Republic. Indeed his design appears to have been to draw disasters upon its armies, perhaps calculating upon the movements of the sections in Paris, or influenced by his secret negociations with Condé. Instead of pushing forward his whole army, he sent on only 12,000 men, who were soon cut off by Clairfait. The Austrian commander was thus enabled to direct his entire force against Jourdan, who was compelled by the complete inactivity of Pichegru to re-cross to the left bank of the Rhine, on the 22nd of October. On the 29th, Clairfait advanced from Mentz, attacked the army investing that fortress, dispersed it after a warm action, and took the whole of the camp equipage. Reinforced by troops

sent to him by Wurmser, he then fell upon the weakened army of Pichegru, and, after an action on the 10th of November on the Pfrim, obliged it to retreat into the Vosges. Manheim was retaken on the 22nd of November. Meanwhile Jourdan had again advanced: an action took place at Kreuznach; and, on the 16th and 17th of December, Marceau sustained an honourable conflict with a superior foe: and Clairfait, not prepared for a winter-campaign and apprehensive of reverses, put an end to hostilities by an armistice for three months, concluded on the 21st of December.

Thus for the first time during this war had a campaign terminated in favour of the Germans; and so great was the joy on this account in Vienna, that Clairfait, on entering the city, was drawn in triumph by the populace to the imperial palace. So much greater was the general astonishment, when, owing to a disagreement with Thugut, the minister, on the subject of the armistice, he was removed from the command. His successor was the young archduke Charles, who had displayed at Neerwinden and Landrecies the valour of the common soldier united with the qualifications of the general, and, as a prince of the imperial house, appeared doubly fitted to kindle a patriotic spirit in the army.

CHAPTER XLIV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DIRECTORY — CONSPIRACIES OF JACOBINS AND ROYALISTS — NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY.

According to the new constitution adopted in France, the legislative authority was now vested in the two councils of the Five Hundred and the Elders, and the exe-

cutive in the five Directors. The latter of those councils met in the Tuileries, the former in the Riding House, and the palace of the Luxembourg was assigned to the Directors for their official residence. A body consisting of at least 1500 men, selected from the national guard of all the departments, was to protect the councils from the danger of popular commotions; while the law forbidding the nearer approach of regular troops to their place of meeting than five leagues secured them from attacks from that quarter; and, warned by experience, the Elders were to have the right of changing that place at their discretion. A guard of 120 horse and as many foot was allotted to the Directors; the salary of each was fixed at 10,222 quintals of wheat; and that fondness for ostentatious display which is inherent in the French character was manifested in the adoption of a gorgeous official costume compounded from the ancient Roman, the Oriental, and the Spanish dress, which rather imparted a theatrical air than served to impress the spectator with reverence.

The new government was beset on all sides with difficulties. The Convention had left the country in the most deplorable condition. The treasury was empty, the people were starving, the armies destitute, credit and confidence were extinct, and the fearful depreciation of paper-money threatened a national bankruptcy. It was now reduced to less than the one hundred and fiftieth part of its nominal value. The wants of the State, increased by the necessity of feeding the famishing population of Paris, could only be supplied by the daily issue of paper, wet from the press, at the public treasury. It furnished the ration at a price in assignats which scarcely covered the hundredth part of the cost. This expedient, the only one for supplying the annuitants and the public functionaries, who were paid in assignats, with bread at least, entailed an enormous expense; and having nothing but

paper to defray it, the State had issued assignats without limit, and increased the quantity in circulation in a few months from twelve thousand to twenty-nine thousand millions. In this dreadful distress, the public functionaries, unable to live upon their salaries, resigned their places, and the soldiers quitted the armies which had lost one-third of their effective force. The arsenals were as empty as the exchequer; the armies without ammunition-waggons, without horses, without provisions, the soldiers in rags and without shoes; while the generals themselves fared but little better.

The new governors of the Republic, undeterred by the extreme embarrassment of the finances, the critical state of the armies, and the increasing discontent of the people, entered upon the discharge of their perilous duties. On taking possession of the Luxembourg, they found not a single article of furniture in that edifice, and were obliged to borrow from the keeper a small rickety table, paper, pen, and ink, for the purpose of writing the first message notifying to the two councils that the Directory was constituted. It is further related that in the outset of their official career they were frequently prevented from sending off couriers by the want of money.

One of the first acts of the new government was to bring to a close the negociation commenced by the Convention for exchanging the unfortunate daughter of Louis XVI., the sole remnant of the royal house, for the commissioners whom Dumouriez had delivered up to the Austrians, Maret and Semonville, diplomatic men, who had since fallen into their hands, and Drouet, formerly postmaster at Vincennes, who had become their prisoner by the reduction of Maubeuge. Released from her long captivity in the Temple, the princess was conducted to Basle, there delivered on the 27th of December (1795) to Austrian commissioners, and married soon after her arrival

at Vienna to her cousin the duke of Angoulême. The liberated deputies, on their arrival in Paris, resumed the seats which had been reserved for them in the Council of the Five Hundred. The dukes of Montpensier and Beaujolais, the two younger sons of the duke of Orleans, who had shortly before the release of the princess attempted in vain to escape from their prison at Marseilles, were not released till November, 1796, but obliged to ship themselves for America.

The release of the princess argued no disposition in those who now guided the destinies of France to reconcile themselves with royalism. This was distinctly shown soon afterwards, when the Conventionalists seized the opportunity which the 21st of January was about to furnish for putting such of their colleagues as were suspected of royalist sentiments to a painful test. They proposed that annually, on the 21st of January, a festival should be held to celebrate the death of the late king, and it was decided that every member of the two councils and of the Directory should on that day take an oath of hatred to royalty. When the oath was to be pronounced, some of the members, on ascending the tribune, appeared embarrassed. Dupont of Nemours, an ex-constituent, a man of energetic character, who, as a member of the Elders, had shown the boldest opposition to the new government, manifested some vexation, and, after pronouncing the words, "I swear hatred to royalty," added, "and to every kind of tyranny." Violent murmurs arose, and he was obliged to adhere to the official form. A similar scene took place in the Five Hundred.

The sacrifices required to supply the wants of the new government, the rigorous execution of the laws concerning the requisitions, the forced loan of six hundred millions, the levy of every thirtieth horse for the use of

the army, and the wretched state of the annuitants, paid in assignats, could not fail to excite great discontent. The enemies of the Revolution complained moreover of the strict enforcement of the laws respecting emigrants and priests. They declaimed in their journals on all these topics, and affected to consider the government as a revolutionary government, and as having all the despotism and violence of one; but it was not surprising that it should have such a spirit, since the Directory and the councils were full of the members of an assembly which had sullied itself with all sorts of crimes.

The stanch Revolutionists, on the other hand, the red Jacobins, as they were called, considered the government as too weak, and accused it of indulgence towards counter-revolutionists. According to them, emigrants and priests were suffered to return; the conspirators of Vendemiaire were every day acquitted; the forced loan was raised with too great lenity. The idea of abolishing the assignats exasperated them, and they demanded the revolutionary means which in 1793 had raised paper to par. They were incensed, because, on the recommendation of Benezech, the new minister of the interior, the government had ceased to feed the city of Paris, and had restored a free trade in articles of consumption. This was an attack on the Revolution, an attempt to starve the people and to drive them to despair. On that point, the journals of the royalists seemed to agree with those of the Jacobins, and the minister was loaded with invectives by both parties. But what raised the indignation of the patriots to the highest pitch was the severity with which the proceedings commenced during the latter time of the Convention against the authors of the massacres of September were prosecuted, as in ordinary cases of murder; while the insurgents of Vendemiaire were brought to trial, and almost all acquitted.

Warned by that insurrection, the Directory provided an imposing force to secure Paris and the seat of the government from further attempts of the discontented. Bonaparte was appointed to the command of this force, called the army of the interior. He completely organized and encamped it in the plain of Grenelle; he collected into a single corps, by the name of the police legion, part of the Jacobins who had offered their services on the 13th of Vendemiaire; and then organized the guard of the Directory and that of the Councils. The whole constituted a well directed force capable of keeping the parties in order.

The Jacobins, enterprising and violent as in their most flourishing period, insisted that it was they who had saved the Convention and the Republic on the 13th of Vendemiaire, and loudly clamoured for permission to reopen their club. This permission was granted by the Directory; but, instead of being suffered to meet as formerly in the centre of Paris, the church of St. Genevieve, now called the Pantheon, was occupied by them. Babœuf, who assumed the prefix of Gracchus, styled himself a Tribune of the People, and published a journal with that title, possessed great influence over this party. He was a bold man, with an excited imagination, and in his paper surpassed Marat in the violence of his democratic principles. He contended that the massacre of September had been left incomplete, and that it ought to be renewed and rendered general in order to be definitive. He publicly preached up a general equalization of property, alleging that Robespierre had not attained his end, because he had not the courage to pronounce the words "agrarian law;" and he employed a new expression, "the common happiness," to denote the object of his system, which aimed at extending the tyranny of demagogues to its utmost limits.

The club at the Pantheon, receiving daily accessions, soon numbered four thousand members. The Directory began to be uneasy; and the Jacobins, having gradually assumed the characteristics of a political assembly, forbidden by the law for the regulation of such societies, caused the Pantheon to be shut up, and also some other places frequented by young men of royalist sentiments, which were comprehended in the measure merely to show impartiality.

Expelled from their place of meeting, the anarchists had recourse to another mode of proceeding, and endeavoured to seduce the police legion, composed, as we have seen, of stanch Jacobins, purposing with their aid to overthrow the constitution of the year 3. The Directory, apprized of this new manœuvre, caused the legion to be disarmed by other troops, which it could rely upon. The legionaries permitted their arms to be taken from them without a murmur. During the performance of this operation, a party of women, pretending to be the wives of these men, came up and addressed them with Spartan ferocity. "Cowards!" said they, "to us belong the arms which you suffer to be taken from you; we would hasten with them to the Temple, and release Babœuf and the other imprisoned patriots. Go and spin for us, and we will fight instead of you for the sacred cause of liberty!" This appeal, however, failed to produce any impression upon those to whom it was addressed.

The anarchists now determined upon an open insurrection and attack. For this purpose, they formed an insurrectional committee of public welfare, which, by means of subordinate agents, placed itself in communication with the lower classes of twelve sections of Paris. The principal members of this committee were Babœuf, the head of the conspiracy; the Conventionalists Vadier,

Amar, Chardier, and Riccord; Drouet, who, after his return from Austrian captivity, had been flattered and courted as a "martyr of liberty;" the generals of the former revolutionary committee, Rossignol, Parrein, Fyon, and Lami. Many officers out of service, patriots from the departments, and the old mass of the Jacobins, composed the army of this faction. The leaders held frequent meetings in a place which they called the Temple of Reason, where they sang hymns, lamenting the death of Robespierre, and complaining of the slavery in which the people languished. They contrived also to establish an understanding with the troops in the camp of Grenelle, admitted into their society a captain named Grisel, of whose sincere attachment to their principles they were thoroughly satisfied, and made preparations for a speedy attack.

They determined to set about founding "the general happiness." To this end, they purposed to make an equal division of all property, and to establish the rule of true, pure, and absolute democracy. They resolved to compose a new Convention out of the sixty-eight Mountaineers left by the 9th of Thermidor, with the addition of a democrat for each of the departments; and, lastly, they determined to make a simultaneous attack on the Directory and the two Councils. On the night of the insurrection, placards were to be posted everywhere, proclaiming, "Constitution of the year 1793, Liberty, Equality, general Happiness! Those who arrogate to themselves the supreme power must be put to death by free men." Everything was ready, the proclamation printed, the time fixed, when the plot was betrayed by captain Grisel.

On the 21st Floreal, the day before that appointed for the attack, the conspirators were apprehended when in consultation. At Babœuf's were found the plans and

all the papers connected with the conspiracy. The Directory communicated the affair by a message to the Councils, and to the people by a proclamation. The event excited general alarm, for the sanguinary rule of the Jacobins was yet in too fresh remembrance.

Babœuf's assurance did not forsake him after his apprehension. He made proposals of peace to the Directory. "I can treat with you," he wrote, "as one power with another. I am only a small part of a widely extended force, capable of making you tremble. My party outweighs yours. Its ramifications are infinite. The wisest thing you could do, would be to suppress the whole affair; in that case, I promise you a share in the future government. If you will not, the conspiracy will nevertheless break out sooner or later. Neither you nor anybody can destroy that work." The Directors, instead of entering into any compromise with the fanatic, published Babœuf's letter, and a high criminal court was appointed to meet at Vendôme for the trial of the prisoners.

Never was conspirator known to have taken such pains to record his ideas as Babœuf. The collection of papers and documents found in his possession was immense. They were in his own handwriting, though he had taxed his ingenuity to devise the most effectual method of preserving the secret; and in his voluminous papers was entered the name of every one of his numerous accomplices. The Directory published in detail the plan of the conspirators, fifteen of whom were secured. It showed the existence of a committee of insurrection, the purposed seduction of the troops, the proclamation of the constitution of 1793, the intended slaughter of all the subsisting authorities, and of a great number of other citizens who were in the list of proscription, the installation of the new Convention, the restoration of the hall of the Jacobins, at the expense of those who destroyed it, &c. Drouet was one

of the persons who were seized; but it was thought right to show particular lenity to a man who had just been held forth as a "martyr of liberty," and he was therefore suffered to escape.

Babœuf seemed at first to consider his apprehension as merely a signal to his party to rise and break his fetters. His hope was not unfounded; for, in the night of 23 Fructidor (September 9th) six or seven hundred of his adherents, armed with swords and pistols, marched against the Directory; but, finding it well protected by its guards, proceeded to the camp of Grenelle, where, from the communications which it had formed, they expected to find partisans. When, however, they arrived at the camp, they found all there asleep, and replied to the challenge of the sentinels, "*Vive la République! Vive la Constitution de l'an* 1793!" The sentinels alarmed the camp. The conspirators, reckoning upon the assistance of the battalion du Gard, which had been removed, marched direct for the tent of Malo, the commandant, who instantly ordered the trumpets to sound to horse, and made his dragoons mount half naked. The Jacobins, disconcerted at this reception, made but a faint defence, and fled from the dragoons, leaving a considerable number of dead and wounded on the field of battle. Of the prisoners who were taken, 32, including three ex-deputies to the Convention, were condemned by a military commission and shot, 30 transported, and 25 imprisoned. This luckless expedition was nearly the last struggle of the partisans of terror and anarchy, and served to impress upon them the unpleasant but certain conviction that their reign was over.

It was not till the month of February, 1797, that Babœuf and his accomplices were brought to trial before the special tribunal at Vendôme. The proceedings, during which their demeanour was marked by frantic

insolence and violence, lasted till the 26th of May, when Babœuf and Darthé, who had been secretary to the sanguinary Lebon, received sentence of death. Both stabbed themselves, but not mortally, and were executed on the following day. They died with the utmost resolution, and were regarded as martyrs by the populace.

In the interval between the attempt upon Grenelle and the condemnation of Babœuf, a royalist conspiracy was brought to light. Emboldened by the miscarriage of the Jacobins, the counter-revolutionists conceived strong hopes of accomplishing their designs. The secret leaders of this party expected to be supported by those same troops which had quelled Babœuf's faction. It was a sort of continuation of the proceedings of the 13th of Vendemiaire that this ignorant, inexperienced, impatient faction seem to have contemplated, but without the slightest prospect of support from the sections. Their leaders, men equally obscure and incapable, were a certain abbé Brotier, Duverne de Presle, formerly a military officer, La Villeheurnais, an ancient master of requests, and a baron Proly. They had received full powers from the Count de Provence, who now styled himself Louis XVIII., dated from Verona. Their plan of insurrection and the draft of a proclamation attested their unbounded confidence in the anti-republican disposition of the people, and, at the same time, their reliance on the accession of many of the deputies, including the ministers of justice and the colonies; but of the means of execution, they were utterly destitute. They set out with congratulating the Directory, who despised and hated the royalists, whom it was impossible to amend, on their victory over the Jacobins and Babœuf, and, without further ceremony, wrote to Malo, commander of the 21st regiment of dragoons, desiring him to give up to them the camp at Grenelle, for the purpose of restoring forthwith the old

order of things. Malo, who hated the bloodsuckers of royalty not less than the butchers of terror, pretended to listen to their proposals, but communicated their schemes to the minister of the police, who took measures for their immediate apprehension.

The discussions which ensued in the two councils on this subject proved that the conspirators were not wholly mistaken in the expectation of finding sympathy in those assemblies: a notion was even circulated that the whole affair was a mere manœuvre on the part of the Directory, with a view to influence the approaching elections of new members, in order to supply the place of the outgoing third. A disinclination to sift the matter to the bottom seemed to prevail; and, if the statements of the conspirators were true, that the royalist club of Clichy was implicated in their scheme, and that 184 deputies had corresponded with the Pretender, it was no wonder that a disposition should rather be manifested to quash the proceedings. Out of the twenty-two persons examined, three were sent before the court at Vendôme, four were condemned to die, but their sentence was changed to imprisonment.

The state of the finances, or, rather, the total want of resources for carrying on the operations of the government, embarrassed the Directory much more than the impotent hostility of the political factions. It was the derangement of the finances and apprehension of a national bankruptcy that had been the immediate causes of the Revolution; under the Directory, that derangement reached the highest pitch, and the total fall of paper money at length produced that dreaded catastrophe. The Committee of Welfare had supplied its necessities by requisitions and confiscations, but especially by the excessive increase of the assignats, the credit of which was upheld by the law of the maximum and the guillotine.

On the downfall of the reign of terror, the value of the assignats began immediately to decline; but, on the accession of the directorial government, which presented, at least in comparison with its predecessor, a semblance of order, the unnatural tension ceased, and the frightful mass of the assignats, which destroyed all idea of money, began to force itself more and more upon the public consideration. The assignats rapidly fell to the hundredth and very soon to the thousandth part of their nominal value. They ceased at last to cover the cost of their production. The government, threatened with the extinction of its power by the loss of its vital principle, resolved to issue no more assignats, and, on the 19th of February, 1796, caused the implements for making them to be publicly broken up, hoping by this course to raise the value of the 15,000 million which it still had in its hands. According to the official report of Camus, the minister of the finances, the total amount that had been issued was 57,581 million francs. On the very same day, this paper again sunk to nearly one half of its previously very low value.

The Directory then proposed the creation of a new species of paper currency, to be called territorial mandats, and, on the 18th of March, the legislative bodies sanctioned the issue of them to the amount of 2400 million. These mandats were assignments upon national domains, and especially the possessions of emigrants, which were specified in them by name, and of which the holder of the mandat was to have a right to take possession on certain conditions. Severe punishments were denounced against those who should decry the new paper, or dispose of it at a less price; and all payments, even such as it had been expressly agreed to make in ready money, were required to be made in mandats. The Directory also obtained authority to exchange the sums

paid into the different courts of justice in Paris for this paper; and other moveable property there, if it was of such a nature that it could be applied to the service of the Republic, was sacrificed to it. All the creditors of the government were paid in mandats, excepting the annuitants, whose dividends, so frequently guaranteed by the probity of the French people, were to be paid only in assignats at their nominal value, or in mandats calculated at one livre for thirty. This proportion between the new and the old paper-money was established by law.

In a few months, however, the mandats fell 97 per cent.; the government could not enforce its laws relative to the price of them; the legislators were the first to demand their salaries at the market-price of the mandats. A possessor of *rentes*, who, instead of a dividend of 3000 livres, had been forced to take a hundred in mandats, was obliged to sacrifice the whole sum, in order to pay the tax of three livres imposed for moveables on a rent of thirty livres. If he had invested a thousand crowns in specie, the remnant of his property, in one of the contributions, for which the minister of finance had expressly promised ready money, still, in accordance with the law of the 28th Ventose, those 3000 livres were repaid in mandats, not worth more altogether than three or four louis-d'ors.

The government, which, on the day that the mandats were issued, published a proclamation, solemnly congratulating the nation that it was about to be restored by the territorial mandats to the same degree of prosperity and strength which it had enjoyed at the commencement of the Revolution, found itself reduced to extreme distress by this rapid fall of the air-built structure. The infinite confusion produced by the discredit of the paper currency in every branch of the administration; the total

impoverishment of innumerable persons, especially minors, whose property was by legal compulsion invested in paper; the starvation, not only of the *rentiers*, but also of such placemen as could not or would not live by plunder or bribery; in short, the national bankruptcy, with all its terrible concomitants, gave the Directory less concern than the impossibility of paying and subsisting, by means of mandats, the armies which were then in the territory of France. The armies of the Rhine refused to take them, and that of the Maritime Alps was in a state of dissolution, which demanded immediate remedy.

The successes of the French arms relieved the Directory from this uneasiness. In Germany, as well as Italy, the armies learned to maintain themselves at the expense of the countries in which they happened to be; and, by means of the pecuniary succours drawn chiefly from the latter, the government was enabled to dispense with paper money, and issued a series of decrees, which limited the passing of mandats to payment of taxes and the purchase of national domains, and consequently lowered the value of them more and more. In January, 1797, 1000 livres in mandats, or 30,000 livres in assignats, were worth no more than a single livre in ready money. At length, on the 1st February, it was decreed that these papers should cease to have a forced currency among private persons; and, merely for the purchase of national domains which might thereafter be offered for sale, was a distant prospect of their application held out. In vain Lafond-Ladebat raised his voice against a measure which was so flagrant a violation of the national honour and credit. "Consider," said he, "that those who have hitherto had confidence in the papers of the State cannot henceforward obtain more than one livre for 30,000. No nation was ever guilty of such prodigious dishonesty. The voice of the people will reproach the legislature and the government with having

depreciated the mandats, in order to annihilate them." The resolution was nevertheless adopted, the national bankruptcy consummated, and French paper-money sank to rise no more.

The people, after all their efforts and their sufferings, were at this period more than ever burdened with taxes, and restricted by oppressive laws in the exercise of personal liberty. The defects, vices, cruelties of the old system so universally complained of, were thrown into the shade by the incapable administration and the tyrannical police of the new. Contradictory ordinances without number, annoyances relative to passports, domiciliary visits, arbitrary arrests, and severe punishments for petty offences caused the philosophical republican government in its most flourishing period to appear far more unfavourable to public liberty than the Church and State system at the time of its greatest corruption and degeneracy. The citizen could not stir, even on the soil of the Republic, but hampered by rigid restrictions; nay, the sum of money which he might carry about him was minutely specified, and a host of civil officers, spies, and informers was employed to detect, if not to instigate, offences against these regulations. Not a trace of that state of public innocence, liberty, equality, and happiness, dreamt of by the authors of the Revolution, was anywhere to be discovered but in the inscriptions which the rule of Terror had affixed upon all the public buildings. Paris, that was to be the cradle of a freedom, based on Roman civic virtue and Spartan self-denial, was still the same sink of vice, or, to use a milder expression, the same seductive Cytherea, as before the political commotions. The magic tones which Robespierre's butchers had for a moment silenced again resounded; and pleasure and dissipation in every shape once more made the French capital their favourite residence.

The high and the opulent, whose pride and luxury had formerly revolted so many to whom Fortune had been less liberal of her favours, had, it is true, disappeared ; but another class had seized their places, and aped their manners —the rapidly enriched upstarts, with their arrogant coarseness, the jobbers, the army-contractors, with their hangers-on, who had amassed fortunes by the artful employment of the opportunities presented by the Revolution. Singularly enough, an affected contempt of the Revolution and of their governors had become the prevailing tone among these persons ; though it was perhaps assumed by them in imitation of the old nobility. Certain it is that the political enthusiasm of 1789 and 1790 had been succeeded by an unconcern bordering on indifference. At the annual festivals of the Republic, the people looked on coldly at the Olympic games, when equestrian performers enacted the principal characters, or laughed at the opera pomp, when directors and legislators, mingled with Grecian and Roman deities, walked in procession to the Champ de Mars, and the car of Phœbus, surrounded by dancing Seasons and Hours, stuck fast in the mud before it reached its wooden zodiac ; or when the sacred fire of the altar of Liberty was kindled by Vestals picked up in brothels. "Paris is not what it was before the Revolution," was the universal complaint. The destruction of the ancient system had involved that of numberless sources of subsistence and prosperity. The inhabitants of the manufacturing and commercial cities were still more dissatisfied under the ruins of their former trade. No place perhaps had suffered more severely than Versailles for its enthusiastic participation in the liberty mania. That town had lost 30,000 inhabitants, and was reduced to a poor, deserted village. The palace and the country-houses around it were a solitude, where the wrecks of shattered greatness excited mingled awe

and regret. Under the government of the Directory, the population of the towns in general declined; whereas, in the country, in spite of the maximum, requisitions, and a levy of 1,200,000 men, it began to increase, owing chiefly to the division of property consequent on the sale of the national domains and the estates of emigrants. The country-people suffered less perhaps than any other class from the fall of the paper currency. Naturally mistrustful, they had got rid as soon as possible of the assignats or mandats, in which they were paid for their productions, at the numerous sales held in the mansions of the emigrants, which gradually transferred almost all the superb furniture of the ancient nobility to the cottages of the peasants. In the towns, the alarm was taken later, and there it produced an absolute rage for speculating in every branch of trade, which could only be carried on by barter. The saloons of fashion were converted into shops, where ladies of the highest rank were engaged during the day in the drudgery of trade to support their families or their relations. Most advantageous purchases were also made in France for foreign countries. The finest wines were sent to Switzerland and Hamburg, whole libraries and galleries of pictures to Russia. But it was Frenchmen who at this time proved themselves still more rapacious and cruel towards their country, buying public and private buildings for the purpose of pulling them down and selling the materials. The finest monuments of past ages were demolished by these speculators, who were called the Black Band, and whose ravages were continued till a comparatively recent period.

The state of morals, as it is generally the case in times of public calamity, was most deplorable. Dissipation and debauchery prevailed in Paris among the *parvenus*, who had acquired wealth during the storms of the Revolution.

The tone in the societies of these persons was low epicurean, copied from that of Barras and his circle. This Director, a man of pleasure, did the honours of the Luxembourg, where he acted, as it were, for his colleagues. His saloons collected together "generals, who," says Thiers, "had finished their education and made their fortune in a couple of years; contractors and men of business, who had enriched themselves by speculations and rapine; exiles, who had returned and were seeking to connect themselves with the government; men of superior talents, who began to have confidence in the Republic and wished to take their place in it; and intriguers, who were courting favour. Women of high and low birth came to these to display their charms, and sometimes to use their influence, when they had some point to gain." Here shone in the zenith of her beauty Madame Tallien, the queen of fashion, which then pandered to immodesty, by prescribing a style of dress, the *costume de nudité*, as it was justly styled, in which the women set all decency at defiance. Their lives corresponded with their appearance. The grace of Madame de Beauharnois and the genius of Madame de Stael also contributed to throw over the society of the capital a lustre unknown since the fall of the monarchy. The most distinguished men of this period selected their partners for life chiefly from this brilliant circle; and never did such destinies depend on the decision or caprice of the moment. The duchess of Abrantes, who draws a melancholy picture of the state of society in general at this period, relates that her mother, with whose family Bonaparte had from infancy been intimate, refused in one morning the hand of Napoleon for herself, that of her daughter for his brother Joseph, and that of his sister Pauline for her son. "She little thought," remarks Alison, "that she was declining for herself the throne of Charlemagne; for her daughter

that of Charles V.; and for her son the most beautiful princess in Europe." In a nation which had so generally thrown off all the restraints of religion as well as morality, it is not surprising that divorce for frivolous reasons, chiefly upon pretext of incompatibility of temper, should have become so frequent as almost to render marriage a nullity: and it is related that the distress of the public creditors consequent on the fall of the paper currency produced more suicides than the fear of the guillotine had previously occasioned.

While the Directory left in force the decree of banishment against the priests who refused to take the oath required by the constitution, it granted no favour to the others, whose salaries were reduced so low as to have the appearance of a humiliating charity. The Director Lareveilliere-Lepaux regarded them indeed as natural antagonists of a species of Deism, of which he set himself up for patriarch. The scheme of this sect, called Theophilanthropists, was not intended to interfere with any of the existing confessions of faith; indeed it was rather of a moral than a religious nature. On the walls of its meeting-house in the rue St. Denys was inscribed in large letters: "We believe in the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. Worship God, love your fellow-creature, be useful to your country. That is good which tends to preserve and perfect mankind; that is evil which tends to corrupt and to degrade it. Children, obey your fathers and mothers; obey them with affection; support them in age. Fathers and mothers, instruct your children. Wives, regard your husbands as the heads of your families, and make each other happy." Upon an altar was placed a basket of flowers or fruits, symbolical of generation and vegetable development. A discourse was delivered by a person in a simple but rather strange dress, on the advantages of a regular, beneficent, and virtuous

life; after which hymns were sung. The services of this sect soon drew such numerous congregations that the meeting-house was incapable of containing them, and on the application of their leaders several churches in Paris were assigned to them. In the country too they found adherents, but their doctrine was too exclusively an affair of reason to be capable of exciting any religious ardour.

France was at this time one vast mental wilderness, without schools, academies, or universities. A commission had, it is true, been appointed for the preservation of the libraries, and a beginning had been made to collect and arrange what had escaped the ravages of Vandalism. The Directorial government, however, had the merit of founding an institution for the cultivation of the highest scientific interests, an institution unique in its kind, and to this day the pride of the educated classes of the French—the National Institute—which was designed to supply the place of the Academies under the old system. It met for the first time in April, 1796; Daunou was the first president, and the first members comprehended all the most illustrious literary and scientific men in France.

CHAPTER XLV.

CAMPAIGN IN ITALY AND GERMANY.

On the disarming of the people of Paris, after the overthrow of the sections, a boy, ten years of age, came to Bonaparte, who had been appointed general of the interior, begging that his father's sword, which had been delivered up, might be restored to him. This was Eugene, son of general Beauharnois, whom the san-

guinary leaders of the Convention had doomed to the guillotine during the reign of terror. Pleased with the appearance and manner of the young applicant, Bonaparte not only complied with his request, but was induced to visit his mother. An acquaintance, thus accidentally begun, ripened into an intimacy, which led to the marriage of the young general with the fascinating widow. It is not unlikely that this circumstance may have contributed to his appointment shortly afterwards, on the proposal of Carnot, to the chief command of the army of Italy, at the age of twenty-seven years.

According to the plan of the campaign framed by Carnot, the two armies of the Rhine were to march at the same time with the army of Italy; an assurance indeed to this effect was given to Bonaparte, but not fulfilled. Independently of him, Kellermann, with the army of the Alps, amounting to about 20,000 men, guarded the communications between Savoy and Dauphiné, while the army of the Upper Rhine was given to Moreau, and that of the Lower Rhine (hitherto called the Meuse and Sambre) to Jourdan.

After Scherer's victory at Loano, the position of the French army had become more favourable than before; but the country in which it lay, the crest of the mountains and the Genoese coast, the Riviera del Ponente, with Nice, were inadequate to the subsistence of the troops. The supplies which arrived from France were inconsiderable; the soldier was in rags and barefoot. Bonaparte's military chest contained 2000 louis-d'ors in specie and a million in bills, which, however, were partly protested. For some years, the pay of the officers had not exceeded eight francs per month; so that want and privations would have been quite sufficient, without any injunctions from the Directory, to incite them to penetrate into more plentiful provinces.

On the 25th of March, 1796, the new general arrived at Nice. He found tried generals of division in Massena, Augereau, Laharpe, Serrurie. Alexander Berthier became the chief of his staff. He brought with him as aides-de-camp, Murat, Junot, Duroc, and Marmont. These and Cervoni, Victor, Vaubois, Kilmaine, Rusca, d'Allemagne, Andreossy, St. Hilaire, Lannes, Joubert, Lanusse, became, in the sequel, distinguished generals. The army numbered about 43,000 men, of whom 4000 were cavalry, but mostly dismounted for want of horses, and the artillery did not exceed sixty pieces.

The force of the allies, on the other hand, was about 60,000 strong; of these 37,000 were Austrians, 20,000 Piedmontese and Sardinians; Naples had sent only 1500 horse. The artillery amounted to 148 pieces. These troops were better supplied and clothed than the French; a great part of the Austrian army had been, during the winter, in good quarters in Lombardy, but they were not on that account more eager for renewing hostilities than the French, who, destitute of everything, had no means of supplying their wants but fighting. "Poverty, privations, distress," as Napoleon remarked of this very army, "are the school of good soldiers." The French general of twenty-seven was destined to have in Beaulieu, commander-in-chief of the allies, an antagonist of seventy-two. The Sardinian army was under Colli, who had an efficient assistant in Provera, the commander of an Austrian auxiliary corps: it formed the right wing of the allied force, and was distributed in a great number of detached posts, guarding the mountain passes into the plain of Piedmont; the fortified camp of Ceva was its principal point.

In the beginning of April, the Austrians, who had been quartered in Lombardy, marched for the mountains of Piedmont; before they had reached them, Beaulieu

broke up with a small force to drive back general Cervoni, who had advanced to the vicinity of Genoa. He had not formed any systematic plan of operations: his object was to secure the mountain passes on the frontiers of Piedmont and Genoa and the tract of coast to Nice; and his views for the prosecution of the campaign extended no further than the defence of the line of the mountains. His views embraced neither the collection of a considerable force at one point, nor an attempt to strike one grand blow; his measures were merely directed to an operation against part of the enemy's forces: he meant to make no extraordinary efforts. Not so his young antagonist. On his arrival at the head-quarters at Nice, on the 27th of March, he harangued his troops in language which was calculated to produce effect. "Soldiers," said he, "you are naked and ill-fed: the government owes you much—it can give you nothing. Your patience, the courage which you show amidst these rocks, are admirable; but they procure you no glory; no honour is reflected upon you. I will lead you into the most fertile plains in the world. Extensive provinces, large cities, shall be in your power; you will there find honour, glory, wealth. Soldiers of Italy, would your courage, your fortitude fail you?" Such was the magical language with which the general, as well as the emperor of a later period, electrified his followers!

His plan was to penetrate through the valley where the Alps and Apennines meet, near the source of the Bormida, into Piedmont, and, in this manner, to turn the passes of the Alps. For this operation, he collected the divisions of Massena, Augereau, Serrurier, and Laharpe, by the latter of whom Cervoni had been detached to threaten Genoa. The simultaneous commencement of operations by Bonaparte and Beaulieu—the latter with a small part of his force, and without concentrating the

rest, the former with the bulk of his army, and capable of throwing superior masses upon any point where they might be useful—led to the first conflict. Owing to the scattered state of the Austrian forces, the campaign opened with a series of actions, none of which can be called a battle, though the total advantage to the French was not inferior to that which might have accrued from a great victory.

On the 10th of April, Beaulieu, with 8000 men, attacked Cervoni at Voltri, drove him back, and proceeded to the coast, where he had an interview with Nelson, who commanded an English squadron in the gulf of Genoa, destined to co-operate with him. Argenteau, who commanded the right wing of the Austrian main army, was ordered to advance to Savona. On the 11th, he drove in the French posts before Montenotte, and strove to dislodge colonel Rampon with 1500 grenadiers, from Monte Legino. In the midst of the fire, their commander made them swear to conquer or die, and they gallantly maintained their ground. Bonaparte hastened up with the divisions of Masséna, Augereau, and Laharpe; Argenteau was now opposed to a force, thrice or four times the number of his own, and beaten on the 12th of April at Montenotte. Beaulieu then retreated from Voltri.

After this success, Bonaparte marched for Dego, which place covered the direct route to Lombardy; he fell in by the way with a few thousand men under Provera, whom Colli had sent to the support of Argenteau. On the 13th, Provera fought with great bravery at Millesimo. Being obliged to throw himself into the mountain fort of Cassaria, he repulsed the furious attacks of Augereau; but on the 14th, Colli's attempt to relieve him having failed, he was compelled by want of provisions to surrender with the troops that he had left. On

these two days also, the allies had to encounter a greatly superior force, being only 4000 against 10,000.

Argenteau had, meanwhile, posted himself with seven battalions near Dego; Wukassowich was on his march to join him with five more; but, before he could arrive, Bonaparte dislodged Argenteau's Austrians and Piedmontese from their position near Dego, and Wukassowich, coming too late, on the 15th, fought with the most heroic intrepidity on the same spot. Lanusse and Lannes, then chief of battalion, particularly distinguished themselves on the part of the French, in whose military history the actions between the 13th and 15th of April are called the battle of Millesimo. The allies had lost, since the 11th, about 10,000 men and 40 pieces of cannon; and the Austrians and Piedmontese were totally separated from one another.

Bonaparte, leaving Laharpe with his division to observe the retreating Austrians, directed his march upon the Piedmontese, posted at Ceva under Colli. The latter, being hard pressed, retired, on the 17th of April, from Ceva to the border of the river Cursaglia: there, on the 20th, he repulsed an attack of the French, whose situation, just at the moment when the smiling plains of Piedmont met their view, became rather alarming, as Beaulieu's arrival might be expected. Bonaparte held a council of war; his generals admitted that circumstances were very critical, and decided upon another attack. Colli, however, spared them the necessity for it by retreating to Mondovi, with the intention of awaiting Beaulieu's arrival in a still stronger position; but, before he could reach it, he was overtaken by the French and forced to fight. On the 22d, Bonaparte proved victorious at Mondovi. The court of Turin, disheartened by these reverses, made proposals for an armistice, which was concluded on the 28th of April, and followed by peace on the 15th of

May. Savoy and Nice were ceded to the Republic; the fortresses of Coni, Tortona, Ceva, and Alessandria were occupied by the French; the militia of Piedmont were disbanded, and the army posted in such a manner as to give no further uneasiness to the conquerors.

Thus terminated the first act of the campaign, and with it closed the political existence of the king of Sardinia, who became a mere intermediate authority to whom the French general-in chief sent orders for him to sign, and demands for requisitions in money and stores to be supplied. On the conclusion of the truce, he wrote to the Directory, "I have no doubt that you will approve what I have done. It is one wing of an army entering into an armistice, to give me time to beat the other: it is a king who surrenders at discretion, for he gives up to me three of his strongest fortresses and the richest half of his dominions. If you choose not to make peace with him, and your intention is to dethrone him, you must temporize for a few weeks, and let me know immediately: I will then take Valenza and march for Turin. But if he should perceive that you are averse to peace, he might play me a mischievous trick. Manage so as to let me carry him this intelligence and his ambassador in Paris know nothing about it." The whole of his correspondence with the Directory indeed indicates the contempt with which the court of Sardinia was treated, and which its pusillanimity abundantly justified.

The unexpected desertion of their ally forced the Austrians to a precipitate retreat, first beyond the Po, then the Tessino, and lastly the Adda. The latter river, at Lodi, was crossed by a narrow bridge, 300 feet long, for the defence of which Beaulieu had left about 7000 men under general Sebottendorf, with instructions to gain by his resistance a day for the retreat of the main army. Perceiving the importance of the possession of this bridge,

the French general lost no time, on his arrival, on the 10th of May, in preparing to storm it. The few Austrian troops in the town were soon expelled, and, drawing up his grenadiers under cover of the houses, Bonaparte gave orders for the assault. They were received by a murderous fire from 14 pieces of cannon, and repulsed in two attempts. Meanwhile a cloud of tirailleurs, dispersed along the river, made such havoc among the Austrian artillerymen, that their fire slackened, and, on the third assault, under favour of the smoke, the bridge was taken. The advance of the conquerors, intoxicated with their victory, was not to be checked; and, after an obstinate fight, attended with a proportionate loss of men and artillery, the Austrian commander retreated to Crema. This exploit was honourable no doubt to the intrepidity of the French, but it was infinitely exaggerated in pompous reports, and all Europe was filled with admiration. We are told by Las Cases that Bonaparte himself acknowledged that this success first kindled in him the spark of great ambition, and not till then did the idea dart across his mind that he might become a decisive actor on the political stage.

While the Austrians were retreating across the Mincio to Tyrol, this vaunted hero was pursuing a course of extortion and plunder against defenceless princes and republics of Italy that had not even been at war with France, which reminds one involuntarily of a captain of banditti. "My columns are in march," he writes to the Directory. "I shall impose a contribution of some millions on the duke of Parma. He will make proposals for peace; but be in no hurry, that I may have time to make him pay the expenses of the campaign, fill our magazines, and supply us with horses. I shall send 12,000 against Rome. From Genoa, you may demand fifteen millions. If you will give me your instructions on these subjects, I

will, on condition that you keep the matter secret, do whatever you desire." He forced the duke of Parma to send to him the coach-horses as well as the saddle-horses out of his stables; and, in the armistice with this helpless prince, who had never sent a man against France, he stipulated that twenty of the best pictures in his dominions should be selected for the Museum of the Republic. This new and peculiar form of plunder, which, at least since the time of the Romans, had not been practised in Europe, found panegyrists, who considered it as an evidence of the regard paid by the young hero to the arts and sciences. But neither the Directors nor Bonaparte were lovers or connoisseurs of art; their only object was to engage the attention of the Parisians so fond of sights, and to erect for the national vanity a monument of triumph accessible to all. Hence it became the practice to introduce into almost all armistices and treaties of peace with weaker powers stipulations for the delivery of pictures and works of art, which they afterwards extended to manuscripts, books, and even to curiosities, valued by a city or a country for the historical recollections attached to them.

This kind of rapine, however, was only a minor consideration; the principal point was to extort ready money and military stores, and to this the Directory was incessantly urging the attention of the young general, who showed peculiar aptness for following their instructions. Neither peace nor neutrality was a protection. The commercial city of Leghorn, belonging to the grand-duke of Tuscany, was entered without ceremony by French troops, and all the property of nations at war with the Republic found in that free port was seized; the Venetians were maltreated and their provinces occupied; money and supplies were levied from the poor republic of Lucca; Modena purchased at the price of ten millions an armistice which was not observed; and

Milan, which fell into the hands of the French a few days after the battle of Lodi, was subjected to a contribution of twenty-five millions in return for the prospect of a republican constitution. This game of republics, into which the French general gradually contrived to draw a great number of towns and provinces, served on the one hand for a lure to a numerous and infatuated party in Lombardy, who beheld in him the restorer of the liberty and glory of Italy; and, on the other, for a terror to the weak governments, which, in the feeling of their own imbecility, without confidence either in their people or themselves, were in the highest degree alarmed at the revolutionary manifestations which broke out or were purposely excited, and thought that they could not pay too dearly for averting the mischief.

The conventions made by Bonaparte with princes who had still any weight to throw into the scale, were moderate in comparison with those granted to such from whom nothing was to be feared. Thus the king of Naples obtained an armistice on no other condition than that his troops should withdraw from the Austrian army and his ships from the English squadron. The Pope, on the contrary, was obliged not only to leave the French army in possession of the legations of Ferrara and Bologna, which they had occupied, but to pay a contribution of twenty-one millions, and to deliver a hundred pictures, busts, or statues, together with five hundred manuscripts, to be selected by commissioners. Under the mediation of Spain, the armistice with Naples was converted into a formal treaty of peace (on the 10th of October, 1796) at a moment when the arms of that power might have proved very dangerous to the French army. The Spanish court, or rather the contemptible prince of the Peace, had shortly before submitted to become, by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, August 19th, 1796, the formal

slave of France. According to this treaty, founded on the family compact of the Bourbons in 1761, the two powers engaged mutually to support each other with 15 sail of the line, 6 frigates, and 24,000 troops. A more pregnant concession had not yet been made to the Revolution. But the wife of the Spanish Bourbon, enthralled by her paramour, the prince of the Peace, and herself enthralling the weak mind of her husband; the prince of the Peace, on his part, intent on strengthening himself by the connection with France against hosts of jealous rivals and adversaries in Spain, and lending a willing ear to the flatteries and promises of French diplomacy, furnish a key to the explanation of this monstrous league. So base was the humiliation, that the scandalous plunder of the duke of Parma, which even Fayponlt, the French envoy at Genoa, declared to be unjust, was praised by the Spanish ambassador at Turin as a proof of moderation.

By means of the prodigious sums wrung from Italy, not only were the French forces in that country, but also the armies of the Alps and the Rhine subsisted, and the Directory enabled to provide for the exigencies of the government at home, in spite of the national bankruptcy. The brilliant prospects held forth to the future Republic, and the compliments paid by Bonaparte at the instigation of the Directory, to the literati of Milan, were so far from being regarded by the common people as a compensation for the seizure of the property of the communes and of the religious foundations, that in many places insurrections broke out against the new deliverance from the yoke of darkness. That right of resistance which the French constitution had formerly declared to be an indefeasible right of man, was not admitted by Bonaparte, and he resorted to the measure of cutting down or shooting the claimants, as the shortest way to

stop their mouths. In the like spirit, he addressed, preparatory to the intended invasion of Tyrol, a proclamation to the inhabitants of that country, in which he threatened that every one who took up arms in defence of his native land, or, as he expressed it, should suffer himself to be led by Austrian agents to take part in a war that was foreign to the country, should be treated as criminals.

Towards the end of July, the Austrians under field-marshal Wurmser, who had succeeded old Beaulieu, advanced from the Tyrol with an army reinforced from the Rhine; and, marching in two columns, obliged Bonaparte to raise the siege of Mantua, the only fortress now possessed by the Austrians in Italy, with such precipitation as to leave behind all his siege artillery. But this resolution, not adopted without great reluctance, was soon productive of an advantageous result; for it enabled him to attack and defeat singly the two divisions of the Austrian army. On the 3rd of August, this fate befel general Quosdanowich, at Lonato; and on the following day, a corps of several thousand men, which might have taken the French general with his whole staff in Lonato, but whose leader suffered himself to be daunted by the bold face and threats of the enemy, were made prisoners. On the 5th, Bonaparte gained a victory over Wurmser at Castiglione; the result was a second retreat of the Austrians to Tyrol, and the re-investment of Mantua. Wurmser collected fresh forces, and, while Bonaparte was advancing towards Tyrol, he pushed on down the Brenta, to relieve Mantua. He reached it, but, after disastrous engagements near Roveredo on the 4th, and near Bassano on the 9th of September, he made his appearance not as a deliverer, but with 10,000 men, the remnant of his army, to be shut up in the place. Owing partly to this blockade of Wurmser in Mantua, partly to the reverses sustained by the French armies which had

entered Germany, the march of Bonaparte towards the Austrian frontiers was for the present averted.

Six weeks elapsed before a fresh Austrian army approached. While the French, reduced by losses in battle and by disease, had time to recruit themselves, and Bonaparte urgently solicited reinforcements, the army and the Republic gained new advantages in the rest of Italy by news of victories, by shameless outrages, and by the success of adventurous enterprises. Bonaparte was assiduously engaged in reducing the States of the north of Italy completely under his power, and giving them new forms. At Reggio, in the Modenese, insurrectional movements had taken place. Bonaparte, who was chagrined because the duke had fled to Venice, accused the government of Modena of having supplied Mantua with provisions, declared this to be a breach of the armistice, and the ducal government dissolved. Soon afterwards Modena, Reggio, with the two papal legations, were united into a Cispadane Republic. The neutrality of Genoa wavered in the balance between the two belligerent parties, while neither of them spared it. When, at length, on the 11th of September, a French merchant vessel was taken by the English in sight of the city, Bonaparte ordered the Genoese to close their port against British shipping. Too weak to resist, on the 9th of October, Genoa placed herself under French protection, for which she had to pay two millions, and to lend two more without interest.

For the third time, an Austrian army was in readiness towards the end of October, to attempt the relief of Mantua. Thirty thousand men, assembled in the Friule, under Alvinzy, were to penetrate to the Brenta and the Adige; 25,000, under Davidowich, to descend the valley of the Adige; and the two corps to unite at Verona. In the valley of the Adige there was only a

weak corps of French, under Vaubois; this was dislodged from Trent, and driven back to la Corona and Rivoli, by Davidowich, who took a position at Castelnuovo. The French main army was meanwhile opposing Alvinzy, who, after crossing the Piave, had successfully operated against Massena and Augereau, on the Brenta. For this reason, and also on account of Davidowich, Bonaparte was induced to retreat to Verona. Alvinzy followed: this led to an action near Verona on the 11th, and to the battle of Caldiero on the 12th of November, in which Bonaparte was the assailant, but met with such a vigorous resistance that he drew back. The two armies were so posted that the Austrian, on the left bank of the Adige, extended to the river Alpone, which falls into the former below Verona. Bonaparte found himself in an unfavourable position, as Davidowich might every day be expected to issue from the mountains; and a letter addressed by him to the Directory, on the 14th of November, affords evidence of extraordinary depression of spirits. He resolved to descend the right bank of the Adige to Ronco, to throw a bridge over at that place, and to attack unawares Alvinzy's left wing, supported upon the Alpone and the village of Arcole; and this design he executed on the 15th.

From Ronco, along the Alpone and the Adige, ran two dykes; the one leading to the village of Porcil, the other to Arcole, where was a bridge covered by the Austrians with infantry and cannon. The French advanced upon both dykes; the attack of Porcil was an indecisive flank movement; the brunt of the contest being at the dyke and the bridge of Arcole. Before the French columns reached the bridge, they had to encounter on the dyke a hot flank fire from the Austrian infantry posted on the other side of the Alpone; and on the bridge itself they were received with such a destructive

shower of balls that they fell back. To no purpose did Augereau plant a standard on the bridge: Bonaparte himself galloped up, alighted from his horse, animated the men with an energetic speech, and rushed upon the bridge, with colours in his hand. All was vain: it was impossible to advance, or even to maintain their ground. Muiron, the general's aide-de-camp, fell by his side. Lannes and several of his bravest generals were borne wounded from the fight; the Austrians pushed forward, and, in the confusion, Bonaparte was shoved into the swamp, but dragged out by his grenadiers, and saved from captivity. Exhausted by their efforts, the French desisted towards evening from the attack. Bonaparte retired behind the Adige, and thus derived no benefit from the circumstance that a brigade, under Guyeux, came up on the left bank of the Alpone, to Arcole, and that the Austrians had quitted their post.

On the 16th, the French had a stronger force opposed to them than on the preceding day: Alvinzy had brought up his main body, and re-occupied Arcole: he came to meet them on both dykes, to take from them the bridge over the Adige at Ronco. The fight was renewed, but again without result. Bonaparte now resolved to turn the enemy. He caused a light bridge to be thrown over the Alpone, near Ronco, and sent Augereau's division to the left bank. On the 17th, the third day of this obstinate fight, Alvinzy, finding himself rather closely pressed on the dyke, and also threatened in flank, abandoned the position of Arcole, and retired behind the Brenta. Each army had lost about 10,000 men in the sanguinary conflict.

Bonaparte was now at liberty to direct his remaining force against Davidowich, and it was more than sufficient to overpower him. On the approach of the French commander, he retreated, on the 19th, towards the valley of

the Adige; and afterwards to Rivoli and Trent. The French were too fatigued to pursue. An armistice succeeded, and lasted till January.

Let us now turn to the events of the campaign in Germany in 1796.

The army of the Sambre and Meuse, about 78,000 strong, was commanded by Jourdan, that of the Upper Rhine consisted of 80,000 under Moreau. These generals were independent of each other; and the Directory, which prescribed the plan of operation, kept in its own hands the supreme direction, which exhibited little evidence of the boasted abilities of Carnot. The plan for the co-operation of these two armies with that of Italy was deranged, in the first place, by the tardy opening of the campaign on the Rhine; and the execution exposed the inherent defects of the double command. The armies opposed to them were again superior in number to the French. On the Lower Rhine were 91,000 men, under the archduke Charles; on the Upper Rhine, 81,000, under Wurmser. These armies were not composed exclusively of Austrians: the troops of the circles of Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia, and the electorate of Saxony, as well as Conde's corps of emigrants, took part in the conflict. The latter had been joined by the count de Provence, after his removal from Verona, at the instance of the French government, who came to fight along with it as a private gentleman, but, on the suggestion of Austria, he soon left the camp, and took up his residence in the palace of Blankenburg.

Soon after the commencement of the campaign, part of the Austrian troops were recalled from the Rhine to reinforce the army in Italy, and Wurmser himself marched with 25,000 men, on the 18th of June, for that destination. The archduke Charles was appointed commander-in-chief of both armies, and the special command on the

Upper Rhine was conferred on Latour. This unity of command made some amends for what was sacrificed by the deviation from the plan of the Aulic Council at Vienna for carrying the war to the left bank of the Rhine.

Hostilities were begun by Austria. Secret intelligence, received from Fauche Borel, the agent employed in the preceding year to tamper with Pichegru, led to a notion that the internal state of France was favourable to the enterprises of Austria. The campaign was opened on the 1st of June, on the Lower Rhine. Kleber, who commanded the left wing of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, broke up from Düsseldorf, pushed on towards the Sieg, was victorious on the 4th of June, at Altenkirchen, and drove back the Austrians to the Lahn. On the 12th of June, the entire army of Jourdan, with the exception of the corps blockading Mentz and Ehrenbreitstein, was drawn up on the Lahn. By this time, the archduke Charles had joined the Austrian army. A victory won by him over Lefebvre, at Wetzlar, on the 15th, and another, on the 19th, at Uckerath, over Kleber, obliged Jourdan to retreat to the left bank of the Rhine.

On the 24th, Moreau crossed the Rhine at Strasburg. The Austrian troops on the other side were dispersed, so that, at first, Moreau found but 7000 men to oppose him: he gained possession of the ill-fortified tête de pont of Kehl, dispersed a hostile corps near Renchen, gained the mountain passes across the Kniebis, towards the valley of the Neckar, won a victory at Ettlingen, on the 9th of July, over the troops of Austria and the Empire, and penetrated into the territory of Wirtemberg. The weak tie which had hitherto linked the South of Germany to the fortunes of Austria was now broken: Wirtemberg concluded an armistice for herself on the 17th of July; on the 25th, Baden did the same; and on the 27th, the whole of the circle of Suabia; treaties of peace with

those princes followed, on the 7th and 22nd of August, and by these they gave up the left bank of the Rhine.

Meanwhile, Jourdan had again crossed the Rhine at Neuwied, and advanced to the Lahn. The archduke Charles had his head-quarters at Pforzheim, midway between the two theatres of war. Wartensleben commanded on the Lahn. The latter was driven back, after the battle of Friedburg, on the 10th of July, across the Mayn. On the 13th, Kleber bombarded Frankfurt, and, after its surrender, the whole army moved towards Franconia. Wartensleben retreated upon Wurzburg, and thence to the Upper Palatinate. The archduke Charles, whose army had been considerably weakened by the departure of the Suabian troops, and was again diminished by the loss of the Saxon contingent, which left it to return home, was in danger of being taken in flank; indeed, if Moreau, who was then pushing forward, had effected a junction with Jourdan, his position would have been most critical.

While Moreau was overrunning the valley of the Neckar, Charles hastened towards the Danube to gain a point of support against the enemy, pushing forward over the mountains, and to secure the communication with the army falling back upon the Upper Palatinate. By the battle of Neresheim, on the 13th of August, he cleared the road to the Danube; and though he could not claim the victory, it enabled him to reach the river at Donauwerth on the 13th. He continued but a short time on the left bank, crossing, on the 17th, with 28,000 to the right bank, to join Wartensleben in opposing Jourdan. An inconsiderable corps, under Latour, was left on the Danube. Moreau, instead of hastening after the archduke and supporting Jourdan, crossed the Danube on the 19th, at Hochstädt, and the French corps, spread over a wide extent of country, moved along the right bank towards Bavaria. His right wing was purposely

extended towards Tyrol, to lend a hand to a communication with the army of Italy. Latour was unable to make any effective resistance. Moreau, however, had no intention of forming a junction with Jourdan, which he ought to have made every effect to accomplish, and which, in fact, would not have been very difficult: the archduke had, therefore, the good fortune to encounter the latter singly.

Wartensleben, having sustained a defeat on the 17th, at Sulzbach, continued his retreat upon Bohemia. The situation of Franconia was now doubly deplorable; for the king of Prussia, who had concluded, on the 5th of August, a secret treaty of indemnity with France, was grasping around him from his provinces of Anspach and Bayreuth, and threatening several imperial cities, particularly Nuremberg; and an armistice, concluded on the 7th of August, with the circle, was not recognized by Jourdan: Franconia was, therefore, treated as a decidedly hostile country. Jourdan's advanced posts extended to the environs of Ratisbon; Bernadotte, with the right wing, had a position at Teining, when the archduke Charles, having joined Wartensleben, came up to the attack. Victorious in two engagements, at Amberg on the 24th of August, and at Wurzburg on the 3rd of September, the archduke drove Jourdan's army out of Franconia, and from the Mayn to the Lahn: Frankfurt was evacuated by the French, and the blockade of Mentz and Ehrenbreitstein raised. In the further retreat of the French to the Sieg, Marceau encountered the pursuing enemy, on the 16th of September, at Limburg, and, on the 19th, at Altenkirchen, and fell, mortally wounded, into the hands of the Austrians. In him, the Revolution lost one of the noblest of her sons, and friend and foe alike paid honour to his obsequies. Before the retreat to the left bank of the Rhine was completely

effected, Jourdan, dissatisfied, because the Directory had taken no notice of several of his applications, sent in his resignation. Beurnonville then assumed the command of the remnant of the army, which had suffered as much from demoralization as from the enemy.

The archduke Charles, leaving the bulk of his army on the Lower Rhine, marched with part of it for Suabia, to attack Moreau, on his left flank, which was now exposed. This general, not uninformed of the first advantages gained by the archduke over Jourdan, but confident that the latter would retrieve affairs, had, after defeating Latour at Friedberg, entered Bavaria, and terrified that country into an armistice on the 7th of September. It was not till the 10th that he suspended his progress, under the apprehension of something disastrous; and, after crossing to the left bank of the Danube at Ingolstadt and Neuburg, convinced that Jourdan's army must be totally driven back and a junction with him out of the question, he resolved, on the 19th of September, to commence his retreat. Latour alone was too weak to obstruct his course, and was defeated by Moreau on the 2nd of October at Biberach: but the retreat was attended with daily increasing dangers; the country people rose; the Austrians occupied the passes of the Schwarzwald, and the archduke Charles had arrived in the Murgthal. At the suggestion of St. Cyr, Moreau decided on retreating through the Höllenthal, near Neustadt on the Wuttach, though this route was deemed impassable, and was moreover occupied by several battalions of Austrians. Moreau overcame the difficulties of the passage, which was effected between the 11th and 13th of October, and gained the valley of the Rhine.

It was not possible for the French general to maintain himself on the right bank of the Rhine, after the great loss which the army had sustained, notwithstanding the

masterly conduct of the retreat. He was defeated at Emmendingen on the 19th, and at Schliengen on the 24th of October, and in consequence, led his army across the river at Huningen and Old Breisach.

The Austrians spent the remainder of this and the commencement of the following year in the siege of Kehl, which the French had meanwhile strongly fortified, and of the tête de pont of Huningen. The unwise detention of valuable force at these two points, not any fault of the archduke's, contributed to the unfortunate issue of the war in Italy. Kehl capitulated on the 10th of January, and the tête de pont of Huningen on the 1st of February, 1797.

During this campaign the emigrants attached to the Austrian army had distinguished themselves on various occasions by their intrepidity. The sanguinary laws enacted by the Terrorists against prisoners were not applied; but, on the other hand, the emigrants were weaned from much of that prejudice and animosity which they had formerly cherished against the Republicans.

The close of this year was marked by the death of the empress Catherine, and the accession of her eccentric son, Paul, to the throne of Russia, on the 10th of November, and by the voluntary retirement into private life of the justly renowned George Washington, the first president of the United States of America.

Catherine's schemes of ambition were cut short by death at the moment when she seemed to be approaching the realization of that which she most fondly cherished during the latter part of her life, while cultivating an alliance with Great Britain and Austria, who, she flattered herself, would concur in her plan for dismembering the Turkish dominions, and placing her youngest grandson on the throne of Constantine. Her latest projects were the formation of a powerful confederacy for the

defence of Europe against the French Republic, and a levy of 150,000 men, destined to be employed in the campaigns in Germany.

Paul, who had been kept aloof from business of every kind, and lived in close retirement at Gatschina, had attained the mature age of 42 years at the time when he became emperor of all the Russias. Well had it been if those humane and kindly affections which marked his accession to the throne had not been afterwards stifled by cruel eccentricity, perhaps insanity. His first acts on ascending the throne were to cause the mortal remains of his father, Peter III., who had been dead thirty-five years, to be disinterred and solemnly entombed with those of his mother; and to break the fetters of Kosciuszko and his companions in arms, and set at liberty all the unfortunate Poles whom his mother had banished to Siberia.

CHAPTER XLVI.

AFFAIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN — NEGOCIATION FOR PEACE — FRENCH EXPEDITION AGAINST IRELAND — SUSPENSION OF CASH PAYMENTS BY THE BANK — BATTLE OF ST. VINCENT — MUTINY OF THE SEAMEN — BATTLE OF CAMPERDOWN.

Before the commencement of the campaign of 1796, the British government, desirous of ascertaining the real sentiments of the Directory on the subject of peace, and to pacify the clamours of the opposition at home, directed Mr. Wickham, our envoy in Switzerland, to sound M. Barthelemi, the French minister to the confederation, on the subject. The reply intimated that it was not in the power of the Directory to give up any territory which

had been declared by the new constitution to form an integral part of the French Republic. In this predicament were the Netherlands; and, as neither England nor Austria was yet sufficiently humbled to consent to the sacrifice of them, the pretensions of France were declared to be totally inadmissible. This first attempt at negociation gave rise to warm debates in the British parliament, in which the administration was supported by the usual majorities.

During this session supplies were voted to the amount of £37,588,000, and upwards of twenty-five millions and a half was borrowed. New taxes were imposed and old ones increased. The number of seamen and marines was fixed at 110,000; the forces in the colonies were increased to 77,000 men, and the guards and garrisons, as there appeared no likelihood that British forces could be employed on the continent, were reduced to 49,000. The parliament was dissolved on the 20th of May, and new elections immediately took place.

While the fleets of England rode triumphant upon the ocean, the arms of France were equally successful upon land. After the seizure of Leghorn by Bonaparte, his views were directed to the recovery of the island of Corsica from the occupation of the English. A great number of Corsican emigrants was assembled in Italy; these neglected no means of inflaming the passions of their countrymen against foreign rule; and when Carnot and Bonaparte conceived that a seasonable time had arrived, an expedition of adventurers was prepared. They were shipped, with money and provisions, for the island; insurrections ensued; and when, in October, reinforcements of men and supplies were sent from Leghorn, the vicercy, Sir Gilbert Elliot, determined to evacuate the island, and sailed with the troops and all the stores that could be removed to Porto Ferrajo in the island of Elba. A long time elapsed be-

fore tranquillity and order were restored in Corsica, and before France could avail herself of the services of the brave natives in her armies.

The treaty offensive and defensive between France and Spain, concluded in the summer of this year, was soon followed by a declaration of war on the part of the latter against Great Britain. Thus England, which had commenced the war with so many confederates, found herself not only deprived of her maritime allies, but all the coasts of Europe, from the Texel to Leghorn, arrayed in fierce hostility against her. Impressed with these dangers, and desiring to disarm the opposition party who contended against the war as unnecessary and impolitic, the British minister made fresh overtures to the French government for a general peace, though, it is true, after what had occurred in the spring, with little hope of success: for nearly at the same moment an alliance was concluded with Russia for the aid of 60,000 troops auxiliary to the Austrian forces. Lord Malmesbury was despatched to Paris to open the negociations. As France peremptorily rejected the plan of a congress of representatives of the belligerent powers to treat for peace, he therefore proposed to Austria that the British plenipotentiary should act for both powers, intimating that the conquests made by England in the course of the war from the colonies of France and Holland might serve to counterbalance the losses sustained on the continent. Natural as this principle was, the French rulers would not admit it: they insisted that the restitution of such conquered countries, as, like Belgium, Liege, and others, had been declared departments of France and parts of the Republic, was out of the question. Barras and Rewbel were particularly averse to peace, which would have put an end to their system of plunder; and Bonaparte, thoroughly imbued with the same spirit, lent them his strenuous support.

The proposals which Lord Malmesbury was authorized to make were the recognition of the Republic by the British government, and the restitution of all the colonies of France and Holland taken during the war. It was required in return that the French should restore to the emperor the Netherlands, with the exception of Luxemburg and Namur, and all their conquests in Italy excepting Nice and Savoy. After the negociations had continued two months, they were abruptly broken off on the 17th of December by an order from the Directory to Lord Malmesbury to quit France in forty-eight hours, because, in demanding restitution of Belgium, he had violated the organic laws of the Republic, and proposed the partition of its territory.

Foreign writers insist that the real object of the mission of Lord Malmesbury was, not to negotiate for peace, but partly to make a concession to the opposition in parliament, and partly to gain information concerning the preparations notoriously in progress at that moment for the invasion of Ireland, and concerning the internal state of France.

Ireland, long the victim of oppressive government, but now of popular passion, was at this period in a state of extraordinary excitement. The success of the French Revolution had stimulated many needy men of ardent minds in that distracted island to embark in a vast conspiracy for overturning the established government, and erecting a Republic, after the model of that of France, in its stead. Two memorials, addressed to the Directory by Wolfe Tone, one of the leaders of the conspiracy, develop the intentions and the reputed strength of the malcontents in a manner which, at the present time of agitation, is peculiarly interesting. He assured the French government that the insurrection would be general the moment a military force should make its appearance. The people

were enrolled under proper officers, and provided with arms; and such was the secrecy with which the preparations were made that the British government was but imperfectly aware of the danger, while the Directory, supplied with accurate information by its emissaries, were ready to take advantage of every contingency.

The Directory determined, therefore, to send out an expedition to Ireland. Hoche, an ambitious, aspiring, young general, commanding the forces in the north-west of France, seconded with ardour the views of the government, and took up the plan of a landing with the same enthusiasm that Bonaparte afterwards did the expedition to the East. "The shortest way to London," said he, "is through Dublin." The Directory overlooked the need it had for its soldiers on the right bank of the Rhine. A fleet of fifteen sail of the line, twelve frigates, and six cutters, was equipped at Brest, and was to be joined by seven ships of the line, under Richery, from the harbour of Rochefort. Meanwhile, the British government, in spite of the reports circulated to lull its vigilance and distract its attention, had soon discerned the real point of attack, and transmitted orders to Ireland to have the militia in readiness, a vigilant watch kept up along the coasts, and, in case of a landing, all the cattle and provisions removed into the interior.

The armament, having on board 16,000 troops, sailed from Brest on the 15th of December, two days before the rupture of the negociation at Paris: and, from the moment that it left the harbour, it had to encounter a series of disasters. Immediately after its departure, it was overtaken by a violent storm: and though the mist by which it was accompanied enabled the French admiral to elude the vigilance of the British squadron, yet one ship of the line struck on the rocks off Ushant and perished, several were damaged, and the fleet was com-

pletely dispersed. Hoche himself, in one of the frigates, was separated from the rest of the fleet, part of which, after a tempestuous passage, reached the rendezvous in Bantry Bay. Admiral Bouvet, second in command, resolved to land the troops, but was prevented by the violence of the storm; and the crew of a boat sent through the surf to reconnoitre were instantly made prisoners by the numerous bodies of armed men upon the coast. Unwilling to take upon himself the responsibility of hazarding a part only of the land-forces in the absence of the general in chief, and apprehensive that provisions would run short, Bouvet made the best of his way back to Brest, where he arrived on the 31st of January. The rest of the fleet followed in scattered divisions, after two ships of the line and three frigates had been lost, one of the former by the violence of the tempest, the other, with many of the smaller vessels, having fallen into the hands of the English. Hoche himself, after escaping a thousand dangers, landed on the isle of Rhé; and, the Directory, relinquishing the expedition for the present, despatched the greater part of his troops to the Rhine, to reinforce Jourdan's army, to the command of which he was destined.

The critical state of several of our West India islands demanded the serious attention of government. A fleet, under admiral Christian, having on board a considerable body of troops, commanded by general Abercromby, was, therefore, despatched in the beginning of December, 1795, to carry succours to those colonies. A succession of storms of unexampled fury and continuance dispersed the fleet, damaged the ships, and for above seven weeks baffled the utmost efforts of the admiral to clear the Channel. In spite of the tempests, some of the ships found their way to the West Indies, where the yellow fever was then making awful ravages, and landed 6000 men in Barbadoes.

On the arrival of the rest of the fleet and forces, assistance was sent to St. Lucia, Tobago, and St. Vincent, where the revolted Caraibs and the French troops landed by Victor Hugues were obliged by degrees to submit and surrender.

For a long time, the Bank of England had experienced a pressure for money, owing to the demand for gold and silver, occasioned partly by the distresses of commerce, and partly by the great drain on the specie of the country, caused by the large subsidies, under the name of loans, to the emperor of Germany. So severely was this pressure felt in the beginning of the year 1795, that the directors of the Bank had expressed a wish to the chancellor of the exchequer that he would make such financial arrangements as not to depend on further assistance from them; and, during the whole of that and the following year, the danger of the continued advances for the imperial loans was strongly and earnestly represented. At the same time, the government had issued immense sums for the public expenses, and in payment of the additional interest of the national debt, through the medium of the paper of the Bank. The alarm occasioned by the attempted invasion of Ireland, added to these circumstances, produced an unusual demand for specie in exchange for paper. The coffers of the Bank were consequently drained, and, to replenish them, the directors were obliged to give a premium for bullion. This rendered matters worse; for there were persons who secretly melted down the guineas which the Bank procured to be coined, and, for the sake of the premium, sold the gold back to that establishment as bullion. At length, the directors found themselves under the necessity of laying their case before the privy council, which, on the 27th of February, 1797, issued an order, suspending all payments in cash, until the sense of parliament could be

taken upon the best means of restoring the circulation, and supporting the public and commercial credit of the country.

The extreme alarm consequent on this measure rapidly subsided. Committees of both houses of parliament were appointed to investigate the state of the affairs of the Bank, which reported them to be prosperous; its funds, amounting to £17,597,000, while its debts were only £13,770,000, leaving a balance of nearly four millions in favour of the establishment: but both recommended a continuance of the late prohibition. An act was, therefore, passed for confirming the restriction; and, to render it less inconvenient, notes for one and two pounds were issued. These were to be taken in payment for all taxes, but private persons were not to be held bound to receive them in their transactions with each other. The act was limited in its operation to the 24th of June, but renewed; and in November, 1797, extended till the conclusion of a general peace. Many persons were apprehensive that this paper would speedily sink in value, when compared with gold and silver, as the French assignats and American paper currency had done, when rendered not convertible at pleasure into specie. The credit of the paper of the Bank of England, however, remained unshaken, because government received it in payment of all taxes, and these taxes fully equalled the interest of the whole of the sums borrowed by the public; and, notwithstanding all the clamours of party-spirit, it does not appear that at any period a higher price was demanded in this country for articles when paid for in bank-notes than in gold. It is true, however, that, in consequence of the paper-currency, almost all the necessaries of life were nearly doubled in price, and continued at that high rate, till, in 1819, the recurrence to specie plunged the labouring classes into a state of distress and misery to which our history exhibits no parallel.

The question of continuing the war occupied a promi-

nent place in the debates of the legislature. The opposition contended that four years of war had only added to the load of debt and taxes which oppressed this country; while all the predictions of failure in the resources of France had only been answered by increased conquests and more splendid victories: and they argued that the minister had not been sincere in the late negociation, or he would have proposed very different terms from those which he had offered. "We have offered peace," replied Mr. Pitt, "on condition of giving up all our conquests to obtain better terms for our allies; but our offers have been rejected, our ambassador insulted, and not even the semblance of terms offered in return. In these circumstances, are we to persevere in the war with a spirit and energy worthy of the English name, or to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a haughty, supercilious republic, to do what they require, and to submit to all they shall impose. I hope that there is not a hand in his Majesty's councils which would sign the proposals; that there is not a heart in this House that would sanction the measure; or an individual in the British dominions who would serve as courier on the occasion."

A great majority in both Houses decided on prosecuting the contest with vigour, and supplies were voted proportioned to the efforts that would be required. Early in the session, the sum of £27,647,000 was voted, and afterwards an additional fifteen millions, which was deemed necessary. Two loans were negotiated, one for sixteen millions and a half in the usual way, and another, of eighteen millions, called the loyalty loan, was eagerly filled up by the nobility and gentry. The land-forces voted for the year were 125,000, of whom 61,000 were for duty in the British islands. The ships in commission were 124 of the line, 18 of 50 guns, 180 frigates, and 184 sloops, for manning which 120,000 seamen were voted. As the alarm

of invasion was now revived, a large supplementary body of militia was levied, together with a considerable force, consisting of cavalry.

We have seen that a treaty, recently concluded with Spain, had placed the navy and resources of that country at the disposal of her republican neighbour. The Dutch fleet also was, of course, at her command. It behoved the English government, which, after the failure of a first attempt at an invasion, might reasonably apprehend a repetition of it, to prevent, if possible, the Dutch fleet from running out of the Texel, as well as the Spanish out of Cadiz, and joining the French in Brest. To this end, admiral Duncan was ordered to blockade the Texel, lord Bridport to lie before Brest, while sir John Jervis watched the movements of the Spanish fleet in Cadiz.

Jervis, an officer of distinguished courage, skill, and experience, recently appointed commander-in-chief on the Mediterannean station, had, after the evacuation of Corsica, in October, 1796, posted himself with his squadron at the mouth of the Tagus, as it was uncertain whether the preparations then making at Brest were destined for a landing in Ireland, or an attack upon Portugal. Early in February, the movements in the port of Cadiz, indicating an intention on the part of the Spaniards to come out very soon, he sailed with the intention of cruizing off the south-east point of Portugal. A fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line and twelve frigates actually put to sea, with the design of steering for Brest, raising the blockade of that harbour, forming a junction with the Dutch fleet, and sweeping the English out of the Channel. On the night of the 13th, this formidable force was so near to the British squadron, that its signal-guns were heard, and the British admiral made the signal to prepare for battle.

The dawn of morning was awaited with impatience.

The enemy's fleet was then discovered, extending from south-west by south, eight leagues distant from Cape St. Vincent; and Sir John Jervis communicated to his officers his determination to cut through them. His ships were drawn up in two lines in close sailing order; and he bore down upon the Spaniards before they had time to form in regular order of battle. The gallant Sir Thomas Troubridge, in the Culloden, was ordered to lead the van. Opening his fire on the Spanish ships to windward, which effectually separated one-third from the main body, he then tacked, and thus prevented their rejunction. The British admiral readily formed his two lines into one, to complete the intended movement. As soon as Troubridge had passed through the enemy's fleet, he gave his starboard broadside to the nearest of the ships as he threw in his stays; his example was followed by the van of our fleet, and the action became general. It began about noon.

The Spanish admiral, Don Josef de Cordova, endeavouring to regain that part of his fleet which had been cut off, commodore Nelson, in the Captain, of seventy-four, which was the rearmost ship, perceiving his design, stood direct towards him, and penetrated into the midst of the enemy. Bravely seconded by captains Troubridge and Collingwood, he ran his ship between the Spanish flag-ship, the Santissima Trinidada, of 136 guns, and the San Josef, of 112, pouring a tremendous fire into these gigantic antagonists, right and left. In this manner, he continued to engage the San Josef, till his ammunition was nearly expended, when his antagonist fell on board the San Nicolas, of 84, which now became the commodore's opponent, and after a vigorous fire, kept up for some time, he gave orders to board. He accompanied the boarding party himself, and, not content with securing one prize, he again headed the assailants in a similar

attack on the San Josef, shouting, "Westminster Abbey, or glorious victory!" Nothing could resist such enthusiastic courage; the Spanish colours were hauled down, and the Captain lay an absolute wreck beside her two prizes.

In the mean time, Sir John Jervis, in the Victory, followed by vice-admiral Waldegrave in the Barfleur, passed close under the stern of the Salvador del Mundo, which surrendered after a few broadsides. The Santissima Trinadada was engaged by many ships in succession, but finally struck to the Orion, Sir James Saumarez, who, intent on preserving the more effective ships, left her to be taken possession of by the next English ship astern; but, as this was not done, she ultimately escaped.

The action lasted till about five o'clock, when the detached portion of the Spanish fleet rejoined the main body, and thus formed a force greatly superior to the English squadron: but they shewed no disposition to renew the fight, and, after a distant cannonade, retreated in the night towards Cadiz.

The trophies of this victory were two ships of 112 guns, and two of 84 and 74. On board these four vessels alone there were about 250 men killed and as many wounded, while the total loss of the victors amounted to no more than 73 killed and 227 wounded. Nearly one third of this number belonged to Nelson's ship, the Captain, alone. The thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the conquerors; the commander-in-chief was created earl of St. Vincent, vice-admirals Thompson and Parker, and captain Calder, baronets, and Nelson was honoured with the Order of the Bath. The Spanish commander and many of his officers, on the contrary, were dismissed from the service with disgrace.

After this important victory, which relieved England

from all fear of immediate invasion, the British admiral followed the beaten fleet to Cadiz, blockaded and even bombarded that port on three different occasions, but nothing could draw the Spaniards from their retreat.

In the same manner that lord St Vincent blockaded Cadiz, lord Bridport shut up the harbour of Brest and admiral Duncan the Texel. Owing, however, to accidents of wind and weather, no vigilance could prevent the occasional escape of ships and even small squadrons. Thus, on the 22nd of February, three French frigates executed at Fishguard, on the north-west coast of Pembrokeshire, one of the most atrocious schemes ever conceived among civilized nations. They landed 1400 men, without provisions, without artillery, without ammunition, who, on the approach of the militia of the county, surrendered without resistance. They proved to be galley-slaves from Brest, whom the French government hoped thus to get rid of by pouring them into the bosom of her grand enemy with a promise of liberty, if they performed any important service. The frigates which had set them on shore had sheered off immediately afterwards, but two of them were intercepted off Brest by two English frigates and both taken. This, as captain Brenton remarks with just indignation, was an inhuman attempt to disturb the tranquillity of a country by turning into its bosom the most abandoned miscreants, familiarized to blood and rapine, and strangers to every moral feeling. They were immediately re-embarked and landed on the coast of France, to the southward of L'Orient.

This attempt, coupled with the recent expedition to Ireland, shewed the possibility of landing a French force, and also the serious consequences which might ensue if it were effected by a considerable body of troops. It was conjectured to be the design of the French government first to throw upon different parts of the coasts small

bodies of troops, to divert attention from the point where the principal force was to land: and so much the more essential did it appear to keep the enemy's ports strictly blockaded. This measure, however, encountered an unexpected obstruction from an event of the utmost importance, and which threatened the very existence of the naval power of Britain.

A feeling of discontent had long prevailed in the royal navy. The sailors complained that, while the price of all the necessaries of life was doubled, their pay had not been increased since the time of Charles II.; that prize-money was too unequally distributed and an undue proportion given to the officers; that discipline was maintained with excessive severity; and that the conduct of the officers towards the men was harsh and unfeeling. During the whole of the spring of this year, a variety of anonymous communications had made earl Howe and the lords of the Admiralty acquainted with these discontents; but, coming in such a form, no attention was paid to them; and when inquiry was made of the captains, all declared that no mutinous disposition existed on board their respective ships. Unknown to them, however, a vast conspiracy had been secretly formed by the sailors for enforcing a redress of their grievances.

The Channel fleet under lord Bridport, consisting of 16 ships of the line, had returned to Portsmouth in the beginning of April; and on the 15th, when the signal for weighing anchor was made from the flag-ship, the Queen Charlotte, her crew, instead of obeying, gave three cheers, which were returned by every ship in the fleet, and the red flag, the signal of mutiny, was hoisted on every mast-head. They secured the powder-magazines, disarmed the marines, sent on shore the most obnoxious of their officers, kept the others under restraint, but obeyed them in all that related to the service. Two

delegates appointed by each ship formed a committee, which met in the cabin of the Royal George. Every man in the fleet was required to take an oath to support the common cause; and ropes were reeved to the yard-arm of each vessel, in token of the punishment that would follow its violation.

Petitions were forwarded three days afterwards to the Admiralty and the House of Commons, drawn up in respectful and even touching language, professing the unshaken loyalty of the sailors to their king and country, but firmly detailing their grievances: their pay had not been increased since the reign of Charles II., though every thing had risen at least one third in price; the Chelsea pensions were £13, while those of Greenwich were no more than £7; their allowance of provisions was insufficient; and the pay of wounded seamen was not continued till they were cured or discharged. Agreeably to their declarations, when a convoy was wanted, they sent orders to the Romney of 50 guns to put to sea; and, her crew wishing to await the result of the petitions, they intimated that the public service required her to sail, on which the anchor was immediately weighed.

Inexpressible was the alarm which this mutiny produced throughout the whole country. The government felt the necessity of appeasing the seamen. Earl Spencer, first lord of the Admiralty, hastened to Portsmouth, and after some negociation, it was agreed that the pay of an able seaman should be raised to a shilling a day, that of petty officers and ordinary seamen in the like proportion, and the Greenwich pension increased to £10. The delegates refused to accede to these arrangements, unless ratified by royal proclamation and act of parliament; and they further insisted on a general pardon. The government then sent earl Howe, to use the weight of his popularity and influence with the seamen, in order to

persuade them that the government would faithfully keep its engagements, and that an unlimited pardon should be granted for the past. So successful were his efforts that, on the 17th of May, lord Bridport's squadron, increased to 21 sail of the line, put to sea to resume the blockade of Brest.

The nation was beginning to congratulate itself on the bloodless issue of so threatening a revolt, when the ships at the Nore, forming part of the fleet of lord Duncan, broke out into acts of open mutiny; and on the 6th of June, they were joined by all the vessels of that fleet from the blockading station off the Texel, excepting the admiral's ship and two frigates. The demands of their crews related chiefly to the unequal distribution of prize-money, which the mutineers of the Channel fleet had overlooked, but on other points they went so far, and breathed such a threatening tone, that government deemed them totally inadmissible.

These ships, about 13 sail of the line, blockaded the mouth of the Thames, stopped all vessels going up or down the river, and appointed delegates and a provisional government for the fleet. At the head of the insurrection was Richard Parker, a seaman of the Sandwich, the flag-ship of vice-admiral Buckner, distinguished for daring resolution and considerable natural ability, and assuming the title of President of the Floating Republic.

Never had such consternation prevailed among people of every class, as at this moment, when the pride and glory of England, her fleet, seemed on the point of deserting the national colours. The citizens of London dreaded a stoppage of the whole traffic of the metropolis; the public creditors expected nothing less than the dissolution of the government; and so great was the panic that the Three per cent. Consols sunk to 45½.

Fortunately for Great Britain, she had in this crisis a

monarch whose firmness was not to be shaken by any danger, and a statesman at the helm whose capacity was equal to any emergency. Conscious that the chief grievances of the seamen had been redressed, government resolved to adopt the most energetic measures. A proclamation was issued denouncing the utmost rigour of the laws of war against all who should not return to their duty; but it produced no effect. All the buoys at the mouth of the Thames were removed; Sheerness, which the insurgents threatened with bombardment, was garrisoned by 4000 men; red-hot balls were kept in constant readiness; Tilbury Fort was armed with 100 pieces of heavy cannon; a chain of gunboats was sunk to bar the entrance of the river; and the merchants of London opened a subscription for raising volunteers to man the vessels preparing to be sent against the rebels.

In parliament, whose attention was formally called to the subject by messages from the king, an act was passed almost unanimously, declaring it death for any person to hold communication with the mutineers, and awarding the like penalty to all who should endeavour to seduce either soldiers or sailors from their duty.

These spirited proceedings, together with the representations of the Board of Admiralty, which had repaired to Sheerness, began to shake the resolution of the mutineers, and to convince them of the hopeless nature of the contest in which they were engaged with the whole nation, and the unreasonableness of their demands. What swayed them, perhaps, still more was the striking proof of genuine patriotism exhibited by the seamen of the Channel fleet, who one and all reprobated their conduct, and earnestly implored them to return to their duty. On the 9th of June, two ships slipped their cables and abandoned the mutineers, under a heavy fire from the rest of the ships; a third followed their example in the night.

On the 13th, three sail of the line and two frigates separated themselves without molestation, and took refuge under the guns of Sheerness. With the same tide, several others ran into the Medway; five only were now left at the Nore; and on the 15th these also struck the red flag. Parker, for whose apprehension government had offered a reward of £500, was seized on board the San Iwich, and, after a solemn trial, condemned, with twelve other ringleaders; about twenty more found means to escape to Calais. Parker underwent his sentence with the greatest firmness, acknowledging its justice, and expressing a hope that mercy would be extended to his associates; and the royal pardon was granted to many of those under sentence of death, after the glorious victory of Camperdown, gained by the same squadron to which they had belonged.

The Dutch fleet, equipped for some great expedition, having for its object either a junction with the Brest fleet or a landing on one of the British islands, was watched by admiral Duncan. For several tempestuous months, he had cruized off the Texel; and, when abandoned by almost all his ships, during the mutiny at the Nore, he had continued the blockade with his flag-ship, the Venerable, and two frigates, contriving by his signals to make the Dutch believe that he had his whole fleet with him as usual. After the mutiny was appeased, his ships gradually rejoined him. The equinoctial gales obliged him to return to Yarmouth, where he arrived on the 3rd of October. He wished to entice the Dutch to come out, by making them believe that he had been obliged to retire because his ships needed considerable repairs; and this stratagem was completely successful.

On the 7th of October, the Dutch fleet ran out of the Texel. It was commanded by admiral de Winter. Born at Demerara, in the West Indies, he was captain-lieutenant

in the Dutch navy in 1786; but, siding with the patri
against the hereditary stadtholder, he was obliged, at
entry of the Prussians, in 1787, to take refuge in Fran
Here he served till the outbreak of the Revolution i
regiment, the officers of which mostly consisted of Batav
patriots. At the commencement of the war, this co
received great accessions, and, under his command, a
that of Daendels, it rendered important services at
conquest of Holland. The Batavian Republic, mistrust
of its old admirals, had, in consequence, conferred on h
the command of her naval force. The fleet with wh
he had left the Texel consisted of fifteen ships of
line, four of which were of seventy-four guns, and elev
frigates, brigs, and cutters: it carried 988 guns a
6775 men.

Admiral Duncan had left Captain Trollope with a f
ships to watch the enemy's motions. On the 9th,
received intelligence at Yarmouth that they had co
out: he ordered the anchor to be weighed immediate
and put to sea with such expedition that many of
officers were left behind on shore. His squadron
composed of sixteen ships of the line, seven of them
seventy-four guns, two frigates, and a few smaller vess
carrying in the whole 1066 guns, and 8515 men.

In the night of the 10th of October, he took such
position that it would be impossible for the Dutch to
back into the Texel without encountering him. On t
following morning, Captain Trollope informed him th
they were to leeward. He immediately dashed at the
and made the signal for a general chase. In a short tim
he discovered them in order of battle. Winter made t
signal to his ships to keep in as close order as possib
but this direction was not strictly obeyed. The wind w
north-east. As he approached, Duncan slackened sail
collect his squadron. He soon descried the coast

Holland between Camperdown and Egmont, about nine miles to leeward of the enemy's fleet. As there was not a moment to lose, he gave the signal to stand before the wind, to break the Dutch line, and to attack the enemy to leeward; and each ship was enjoined to stick to that of the enemy opposite to which she should be. In this manner, he placed himself between the enemy and the shore, for which they kept constantly edging away. His signals were most accurately obeyed.

Vice-admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, who commanded the first division, bore down in the most gallant style upon the Dutch rear; his division followed his example, and the action commenced about half-past twelve o'clock. The Venerable, Duncan's flag-ship, soon broke through the line, and the second division attacked the van of the Dutch. The Vryheid, bearing the flag of the Dutch admiral, had three English ships upon her at once. The Hercules took fire, and, as he was striving to avoid her, he fell under the guns of a fourth ship.

Meanwhile, the English had taken possession of the Wassenaer, Harlem, de Vries, Delft, Jupiter, and Gelykheid; the Hercules, too, in which the fire had been extinguished, but whose masts it had been found necessary to cut away, had drifted into the midst of them. Winter still defended himself against his assailants, and endeavoured to break through them, to gain the shore or to rejoin the remnant of his squadron. Though he had lost all his masts, he defended himself for some time longer, till half his crew were killed or wounded, and all his guns but six rendered unserviceable. He was then compelled to surrender, and was immediately removed to the Venerable, which was likewise so riddled that she could scarcely keep above water, though all her pumps were going.

According to the official report of admiral Duncan,

several other Dutch ships struck their colours, but, finding himself in only nine fathom water, and scarcely five miles from the land, his whole attention was taken up in getting the heads of the disabled ships off shore; and the wind, blowing constantly towards the land, dispersed his fleet, so that rear-admiral Story escaped with most of the ships still in the possession of the Dutch into the Texel, and rear-admiral Bloys van Treslong, with a smaller division, into the Meuse.

It was admitted by both parties that never had a more obstinate or a more sanguinary naval action been fought than this. The Dutch, somewhat inferior in force to their antagonists, had on this day proved themselves worthy of the most glorious times of their Republic. Besides admiral Winter, the old vice-admiral Reyntjes had fallen into the hands of the English, severely wounded, and died a few weeks afterwards in captivity.

Nine sail of the line and two frigates were left in possession of the conquerors, who lost about 200 killed and nearly 600 wounded, while that of the Dutch amounted to 1060, besides the crews of the prizes, who exceeded 6000.

The effects of this victory, both on the public spirit and the security of Britain, were highly important. Achieved, as it was, by the very fleet which had recently struck such terror by the mutiny at the Nore, it served to raise the national spirit not only by the proof which it exhibited of the invincible attachment of our seamen to the glory of their country, but also by the confidence of safety from immediate invasion which it excited. The Dutch, on the other hand, were almost erased by this disaster from the list of maritime powers.

The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the officers and seamen for this glorious achievement. The admiral was created Viscount Duncan of Camper-

down, and vice-admiral Onslow a baronet. The freedom of the city of London was presented to both, with a sword of the value of 200 guineas to the former, and of 100 guineas to the latter. On the 14th of December, his Majesty and his family, attended by the members of both Houses of Parliament, went in solemn procession to return thanks to the Almighty for the mercies shown to the nation, and particularly for the great naval victories obtained over our enemies. The colours taken on those occasions were borne by the senior officers in England who happened to have been present in the actions.

Of the operations of the English abroad during this year a brief notice may suffice.

On the 12th of February, an English squadron of five sail of the line, the same number of frigates, and several transports with troops, under admiral Harvey, sailed from Martinique, and on the 16th appeared off Trinidad, an island belonging to the Spaniards, valuable as well for its extraordinary fertility as for its situation at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico. The Spaniards themselves set fire to three sail of the line and a frigate which were lying there; a fourth ship of the line, the San Damaso, fell into the hands of the English, to whom the whole island submitted on the 18th of February. The garrison, 584 in number, and the crews of the ships, amounting to 1700 men, became prisoners of war.

The next attack in this quarter was on Porto Rico, the last of what are called the Great Antilles. Admiral Harvey, who had returned from Trinidad to Martinique, again sailed, with a corps under general Abercromby, on the 8th of April, arrived off Porto Rico on the 17th, and on the next day landed 3000 men. The town of Porto Rico itself is situated in the north of the island upon a peninsula, connected by a narrow isthmus with the main land. As it is defended by a castle, which com-

pletely commands the entrance to the harbour, it was assailable only from the east side. There was no other way to approach it, but over the isthmus defended by two redoubts and by gun-boats. In vain the troops strove to penetrate by this route: all they could do was to bombard the town for several days from a point on the south, but at too great a distance to produce any effect. In the night of the 30th of April, Abercromby re-embarked with his troops, having sustained a loss in the attempt of 31 killed, 70 wounded, and 124 prisoners.

Not more successful was the daring Nelson himself in a similar enterprise against the island of Teneriffe. On the 28th of May, the English frigate Minerve had taken, in the road of Santa Cruz, the French corvette, la Mutine, bound for the Isle of France, with part of her crew: the rest, including the notorious Drouet, happened to be on shore. Having captured this vessel in the very road of Santa Cruz, the English were led to believe that it would not be very difficult to take the town itself. Lord St. Vincent accordingly despatched Nelson from the blockading squadron off Cadiz, on the 13th of July, with four sail of the line and three frigates, which, in a few days, came to an anchor some miles to the north of Santa Cruz. The Spanish force there consisted of 2000 militia, about 300 men of the battalion of the Canary Islands, and 150 French, partly belonging to the crew of the Mutine and partly to wrecked vessels. As the latter offered to arm for the defence of the island, they were placed in the two forts which flank the mole, and against which the first attacks of the English squadron were directed. After a bombardment for several hours, an attempt was made to storm them, but failed. In the night of the 24th, Nelson, with 1000 men, in six divisions, made another attack. The mole-head was the general rendezvous. Here they were to land; but, their approach

being perceived by the Spaniards, they were received with a heavy fire of great guns and musketry. The night was dark, the surf high, and the beach so rough that in the clearest day no boat could have landed with any ammunition. The current swept many of them to leeward of the mole; they landed where they could; their boats were stove, and their powder destroyed. Three of the divisions, however, landed and took possession of the mole, in spite of the fire of a heavy battery, which cost Nelson his right arm: the wounded hero was immediately conveyed to the nearest ship.

Meanwhile, the divisions under captains Trowbridge, Hood, and Miller penetrated into the town, and took possession of the church of St. Dominic. The citadel was summoned; and at daylight, collecting their remaining force, they marched to attack it; but found the streets well guarded with field-pieces, and the Spaniards determined to defend themselves, while, on their part, they were destitute of artillery, ammunition, and provisions. In this hopeless condition, Troubridge threatened to set fire to the town, unless his followers were allowed to retire without molestation to their ships, a demand with which the Spanish governor complied, on condition that no further hostilities should be committed against the town, or any of the Canary Islands. In this unfortunate enterprise, the loss of the assailants consisted of 51 killed, 110 wounded, 97 drowned, and five prisoners. Among the former was captain Bowen, of the Terpsichore, an officer of distinguished merit.

END OF VOL. II.

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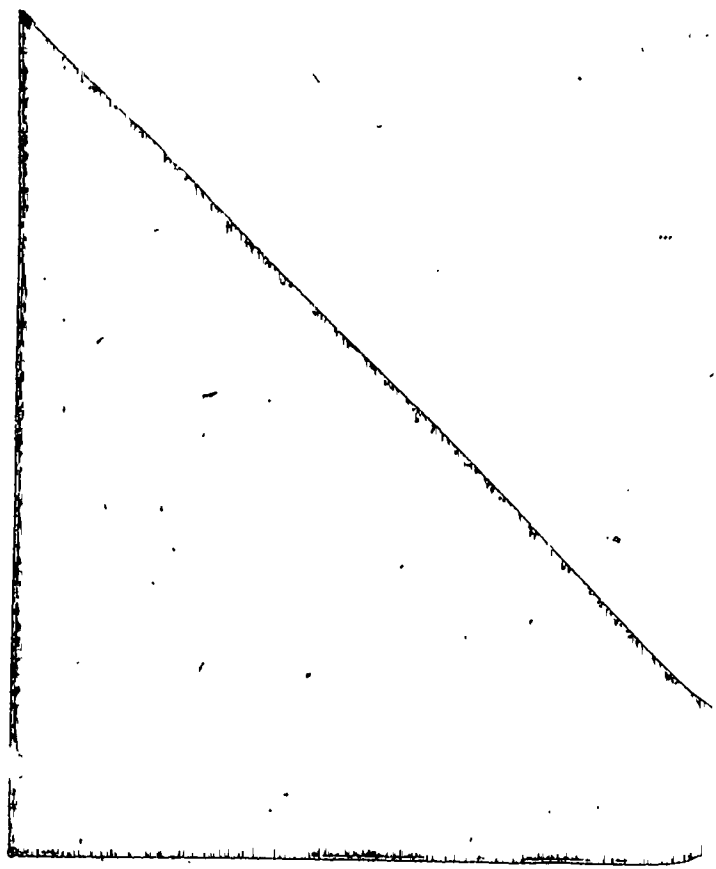

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